MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY OF ISLAMIC TEXTILES UP TO THE MONGOL CONQUEST

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CHAPTER VII *

ṬABARISTĀN, ḲŪMIS, DJURDJĀN

ṬABARISTĀN

WE ARE FORTUNATE IN POSSESSING FROM EARLY SOURCES A FAIRLY COMPLETE RECORD OF the textiles in the province of Ṭabaristān (Map 1). Ibn Isfandiyār (613 H. [1216–17 A.D.]), who wrote a history of this district, had access to authors, both Arabic and Persian, whose works have now perished. The most interesting piece of information which he has preserved is that the Ispahbad, or semi-independent ruler of that country, sent the Abbasid Manṣūr exactly the same tax as had gone to the Sasanians. Manṣūr had previously sent him a crown and a robe of honor presumably of the ṭirāzī kind. This seems also to have been a custom handed down from the Sasanians. The tax consisted of three hundred bales of green silk carpets and quilts, the same amount of good colored cotton, the same amount of gold-embroidered garments of the kind called Rūyānī and Lafūradj (from Lapūr, south of Mamāṭīr on the river Bābul), and the same amount of saffron of a kind unequaled in all the world.[1]

This records the unbroken continuity of the Sasanian system into Muslim times, probably with a similar type of indirect government. Other instances of this type of tax in kind have been previously discussed. It was a Sasanian custom to take the textiles peculiar to the province as part of the tax.

In the reign of Sulaimān ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, the general Yazīd ibn Muhallab invaded the country and forced the Ispahbad to make peace on condition that an annual tribute of 4,700,000 dirhams, four hundred ass loads of saffron, and four hundred men each bearing a shield (turs), a silver cup (djām fiḍḍa), a head scarf (ṭailasān), and a silk saddle cushion (numruḳ ḥarīr) was sent.[2]

The introduction of Ṭabarī stuffs to the caliphs, of which the historian Ṭabarī gave an account, seems to coincide with the payment of the tribute to Manṣūr (136–58 H. [753–74 A.D.]) in Ṭabarī carpets:

> Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Sulaimān said: "I heard my father say that the first person to use Ṭabarī as upholstery was al-Mahdī. That was because his father ordered him to stay in Rayy. Ṭabarī carpets were brought to him from Ṭabaristān, and he used to use them as furnishings. Then snow and willow twigs (khilāf) were placed round it. Heavy cloth (khaish) was procured for them, and Ṭabarī stuff found favor with them." [3]

* See preceding chapters in *Ars Islamica*. Vols. IX (1942) and X (1943).

[1] Ibn Isfandiyār, *History of Ṭabaristān*, trans. by E. G. Browne (Leyden-London, 1905), p. 118.

[2] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 338. trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), II, 44.

[3] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), ser. III, I, 536.

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Djāḥiẓ [4] in the second century, knew that the "best ṭailasāns are the Ṭabarī Rūyānī kind, then those of Amul, then the Egyptian kind (Miṣrī), then the Ḳūmis kind." He,[5] however, placed "Ṭabarī robes (aksiya), then wool (lined?) with wool" after the Egyptian woolen robes (aksiya) and those of Fars, Khuzistan, Shiraz, and Isfahan. In another work [6] of his he said: "I bought a white Ṭabarī robe (kisā') for four hundred dirhams, and from the evidence of their eyes, the people thought it was Ḳūmisī worth a hundred dirhams." Djāḥiẓ lived into the reign of al-Mu'taṣim in the early third century, and there is a very pretty story in the *Aghānī* [7] the subject of which is just those very Ṭabarī carpets. The singer Isḥāḳ ibn Ibrahim related:

One day Abdallah ibn Ṭāhir brought forth to me two verses on a scrap of paper, and said: "These are two verses which I found on an Isbahbudhī Ṭabarī carpet (bisāṭ), which was brought to me from Ṭabaristān. I should like you to set them to music for me." I read them over, and they went as follows:

Fast close that weeping eye, refrain
From unavailing passion's strain.
Alas, my tears scarce cease to fall,
But plaintive flute doth grief recall.

So I set them to music, and on the morrow I took them to him. He admired the song and presented me with a magnificent gift. He became very much enamored of the lines and often used to ask for them to be sung. I taught them to all his slave girls, and his fondness for the song became widely known.

Now, one day al-Mu'taṣim was in the audience room and the spring furnishings (fursh al-Rabī') were being displayed in front of him, when a carpet of brocade (bisāṭ al-dībādj), extremely beautiful, passed in front of him, with the above couplet upon it, and in addition, the following:

Death I know can be none other
Than to be without thy lover.
Two loves lie there within thy heart.
Both old and new can claim their part.

So he ordered the carpet to be taken to Abdallah ibn Ṭāhir, saying to the messenger: "Tell him, I know of your fondness for having this verse sung. So when this carpet fell into my hands, I thought I should like to make your pleasure in it complete."

Abdallah was very pleased at being sent this message, made much of it, and said to me: "By Allah, Abu Muhammad, in truth, my pleasure at the completion of this verse is greater than my pleasure in anything else. So set them to music along with the first two verses." I did so.

The note of the editor of the *Aghānī* suggests that these carpets were named after the

[4] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," *Revue de l' acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 338. Djāḥiẓ died in 257 H. (869 A.D.), aged over ninety, so his information is particularly early and valuable.

[5] *Op. cit.,* pp. 337–38. Cf. Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 433.

[6] Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (Cairo, 1905–7), III, 8.

[7] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–36), V, 428–29.

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little town of Isfahbad[8] in Djīlān (Gilan). This, however was a little-known place, and I venture to suggest that these garments were named after the Ispahbads themselves and were a part of the tribute which came to Baghdad. They ruled there both before and after the Muslim conquest as a semi-independent dynasty, and according to a later passage they controlled at least a part of the industry.

Ya'ḳūbī[9] (278 H. [891 A.D.]) knew that "in it are made Ṭabarī carpets (fursh), and Ṭabarī robes (aksiya)." Ibn al-Faḳīh[10] reported that "the people of Ṭabaristān, Dailam, and Kazvin share in the manufacture of Rūyānī, and Āmulī robes, and also in the manufacture of the garment shustaka, napkins (mandīl), and many kinds of cloth."[11] The *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*[12] mentions that fashionable ladies wore Ṭabarī cloaks (ardiya).

Iṣṭakhrī said of the products of Ṭabaristān:

From Ṭabaristān there is brought ibrīsm silk, which supplies all countries, there being no town in Islam which has more ibrīsm than it has.... In Ṭabaristān many garments of silk (ḥarīr) are made which are transported everywhere. The same is true of wool, carpets (fursh), and robes (aksiya).[13]

Other manuscripts mention in addition "various kinds of ibrīsm silk garments, robes, wool, linen shirts (midra'), napkins (mandīl), Ṭabari carpets (fursh), cloaks for women (mi'zar), silk (ḥarīr) garments." He further noted that the eggs of the silkworm (bizr dūd al-ibrīsm) always came from Djurdjān.

Ibn Ḥawḳal gave an amplified and modified version:

In the whole of Ṭabaristān ibrīsm silk is manufactured and taken to all countries. In the whole world there is no country, in Islamic or heathen territory, which can come anywhere near Ṭabaristān for abundance of ibrīsm silk. . . . From Ṭabaristān various kinds of ibrīsm silk garments, and precious robes of wool (aksiya al-ṣūf), admirable camelots (barrakānāt) come. In all the world

[8] See G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 175. The difference in pointing, and the substitution of *dhāl* for the Persian *dāl* make no difference to the above suggestion. Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb,* trans. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. [Leyden–London, 1919], XXIII, II) called the city Isfahbad, but Yāḳūt spelled it as Isfahbudān (*Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld [Leipzig, 1866–73]).

[9] Ya'ḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Boldān, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (= *B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1892), VII, 277.

[10] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 254.

[11] See the "Glossary" to Ṭabarī, *Annales,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), p. cccxi, "shustaḳa." I suggest here a reading "shasātik" as a plural of "shustaka," instead of "sh s tan k" of the text. Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Djamāhir,* ed. F. Krenkow (Hyderabad, 1938), p. 202, mentions sh stakāt garments which are made from asbestos called by the Persian emperor Ādhar-shust. It was so named because, as related in many passages in the geographers, when they wished to clean this material they placed it in the fire. He mentioned, referring to the year 390 H. (1000 A.D.), one of these cloths which was tested in the fire. The asbestos was made into threads mixed with cotton flakes. Generally, however, the name seems simply to mean a napkin of some kind. Cf. Ibn Abī 'Uṣaibi'a, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbā',* ed. A. Müller (Cairo, 1299 H. [1882 A.D.], Preface, Königsberg, 1884), I, 217, where a sh staka is used to contain a drug. See also Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr* (Damascus, 1866–67), III, 178, where a word "sustadja" is mentioned.

[12] Al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā,* ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 126.

[13] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum* . . ., ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 212.

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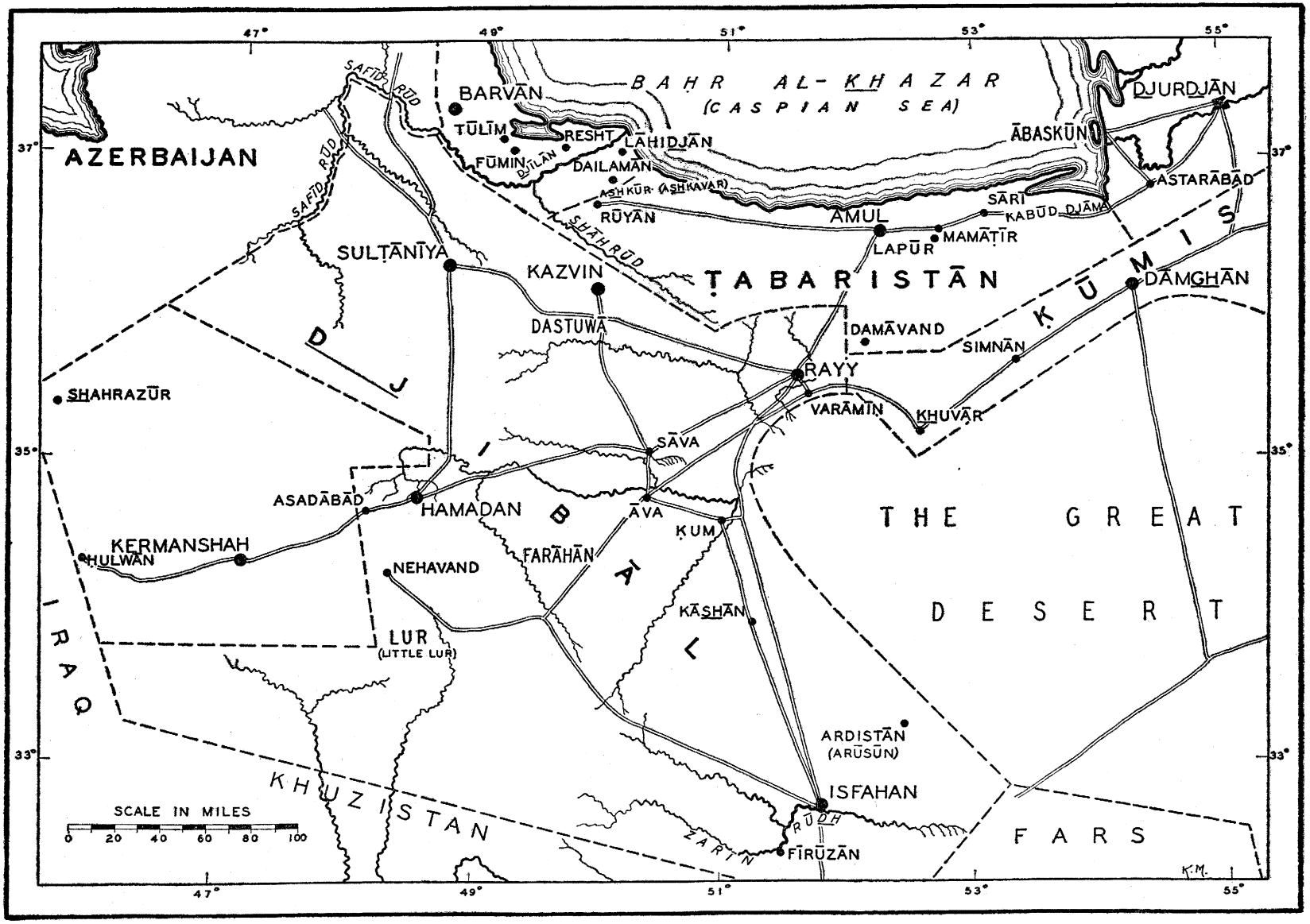

Map 1—Ṭabaristān, Ḳūmis, Djurdjān, and Djibāl

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there are no robes which fetch the price that their robes, camelots, and miṭraf cloaks do. When they contain gold they are like those of Fars in price or even a little more expensive. In Ṭabaristān too, are made napkins of cotton (mandīl) and Sharābīya (a type of linen garment), plain and gold-embroidered cushions (dasātik sādidja wa mudhahhaba), there being no equal to their gold (woven garments) for wear known among their clothes. Their cotton is like the cotton of Ṣa'da with a yellowish tint, a fine kind of it being made which is much liked by the people of Iraq.[14]

Maḳdisī[15] remarked fields of flax (kattān), and of hemp (ḳunnab) in it and said:

From Ṭabaristān come the robes (aksiya) which are preferable to those of Fars, ṭailasāns, and garments of coarse cloth (khaish) which are borne to various lands. A great quantity is sold in Mecca, worth a few dirhams, or a great many, which are called "Meccan" in the west, as well as bands (or girdles, lafāfa).[16]

On the authority of al-Yazdādī (who wrote between 366 and 403 H. [976 and 1012 A.D.]), Ibn Isfandiyār gave an account of the cloth trade in Ṭabaristān:

In early times there used to come to Ṭabaristān and thence be exported to the most distant countries in the earth, satin (aṭlas), woven stuff (nasadi), priceless 'Attābī, and different kinds of precious brocade, valuable siḳlāṭūn . . . . ibrashīm curtains (parda) and those of wool, women's fine cloaks (mi'zar), felts (anmād) better than Djahramī, carpets "in relief" (ḳālī-hā-yi-maḥfūrī).[17]

From here these cloths must have been spread among the tribes of Central Asia, for he also said that Amul was a market for goods for the Saḳsīn and Bulghār up to his own time, and that traders from Iraq, Syria, Khurasan, and the borders of Hindustan used to come to Amul for trading.

The *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* has little to add to the other authors:

Among its own special products are the orange robes (aksiya), napkins of coarse cloth (manādīl khaish), womens' dresses (ghilāla, usually yellow, and often transparent), and cotton caps worn under the turban ('araḳīyāt[18]). One of the strange things about Ṭabaristān is that dirhams are taken to it for the purchase of napkins (mandīl) from all countries, but they are not taken from it.[19]

With regard to the custom of sending Ṭabarī textiles to Mecca it is relevant to quote the following passage from Ibn Isfandiyār:

The Ispahbad Ḥusām al-Dawla wa'l-Dīn Ardashīr ibn Husain, the ruler of Ṭabaristān (about 579 H. [1183–4 A.D.]) used to set aside five bales of silk for the poor of Mecca, and five bales

[14] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna. . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae, B.G.A.*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1873), II, 272.

[15] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici, B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 354.

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 367.

[17] Ibn Isfandiyār, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[18] R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927); and *idem, Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1854), for ghilāla and 'araḳīya. Cf. R. Levy, "Notes on Costume from Arabic Sources," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1935. For " 'araḳīyāt" perhaps "midra'" should be read with some MSS of Iṣṭakhrī *supra*.

[19] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 112.

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(rizma) of silk for the poor of Medina. These bales were sold in Baghdad and the money spent on cotton cloth (kirbās) which was divided among the poor.[20]

The same author, also,[21] in a list of taxes which Saladin prescribed on conquering Egypt, included an impost of two hundred forty dinars on the Ṭabarī manufacture levied at Miṣr and Cairo.

Ḳalḳashandī[22] stated, too, that the Fatimid caliphs had their audience chamber "hung with Dabīḳī curtains (sutūr) and carpeted with splendid Ṭabarī of Ṭabaristān worked with gold (mudhahhab). . . . the throne (sarīr) was covered with Ḳurḳūbī."

After the Mongol conquest, Abu 'l-Fidā' merely quoted Ibn Ḥawḳal and Muḥallabī for Ṭabaristān's richness in silk.[23] Gaston Wiet[24] has described a silken stuff which he deduces to have come from Ṭabaristān, and which has human figures represented upon it. The date lies about the middle of the fifth century H. (eleventh century A.D.).

The stuffs which we have been discussing were for the most part made in Amul, the capital of the province. Djāḥiẓ placed the ṭailasāns made in Rūyān before those made in Amul, but these two are the best kinds. Ibn Rusta[25] and Ibn al-Faḳīh[26] both remarked that the Ṭabarī carpets were made there, but the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*[27] has a fairly long list:

> Amul produces linen cloth, kerchiefs of linen and cotton (dastār-i-khīsh), Ṭabarī rugs (farsh), Ṭabarī mats (ḥaṣīr) . . . white Kūmish gilīms with gold thread (zarbaft), and Dailami gilīms of zarbaft, various kerchiefs shot with gold thread (dastārcha-yi-zarbāft), shagreen (kimukhtā).

Maḳdisī[28] said that Amul had "wonderfully lovely carpets, and pillows (mirfaḳ). . . . it has a profitable trading center and skilled weavers." Yāḳūt remarked: "In Amul are made the Ṭabarī prayer carpets (sadjdjāda) and the lovely carpets (busuṭ)."[29]

To the east of Amul lie Mamāṭīr and Sari; the former according to the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*[30] produced thick reed mats (ḥaṣīr-ī-sitabr) of very good quality; the latter which was once capital of the province was noted for silk tissues (djāma-yi-ḥarīr va-parniyān). Mustawfī[31] mentioned cotton as grown at Sari in plenty, but not silk, except in the dependencies of the near-by Kabūd Djāma.

The Rūyānī stuffs have been remarked upon several times in the course of this chapter. The *Ḥudūd*[32] adds that it exports "the red woolen cloth from which raincoats (bārānī) are

[20] Ibn Isfandiyār, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[21] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ, Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte,* trans. by U. Bouriant and P. Casanova (Paris, 1900–20), p. 298.

[22] Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), III, 499.

[23] *Géographie d'Aboulféda,* texte arabe . . . . par M. Reinaud et M. le Bon Mac Guckin de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 432, trans. . . . . par M. Reinaud (Paris, 1847–83), II, 175.

[24] G. Wiet, "Un Tissu musulman du nord de la Perse," *Revue des arts asiatiques,* X (1936), 173ff.

[25] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 304.

[27] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 134–35.

[28] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

[29] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 68.

[30] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 134. Spelled Māmaṭīr by Minorsky.

[31] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[32] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 135; E. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus* (Oxford, 1927), I, 298.

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made as well as blue gilīms which they use in Ṭabaristān itself." Balādhurī [33] noted that Rūyān and Damāvand paid their tax to the early Arabs in money, garments (thiyāb), and vessels (āniya).[34]

ḲŪMIS

Most of our authors have commented on the stuffs of Ḳūmis, and in a list of exports, Djāḥiẓ [35] gave "garments of goat hair or camel hair (amsāḥ), umbrellas (djitr), and ṭailasāns of wool (ṣūf)," but he added that those ṭailasāns manufactured in Egypt, were of a superior quality. Ya'ḳūbī [36] said: "Its inhabitants are Persians, and the most skilled of people, making the valuable Ḳūmis garments of wool." Ibn Rusta [37] found that "most of what is sold there consists of white robes (aksiya) for ṭailasāns." Iṣṭakhrī [38] and Ibn Ḥawḳal [39] agreed that "well-known robes (aksiya) are taken from Ḳūmis to the provinces." The *Ḥudūd* [40] differs little: "Kūmish produces Kūmis textiles and fruit of which there is no like in the world. They are exported to Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān."

Maḳdisī was rather more explicit:

> Now, concerning Ḳūmis, they have white napkins (mandīl) of cotton with a border (mu'lama), both great and small, plain (sādhidj) and with a selvage (muḥashshāt), the kerchiefs of which may fetch two thousand dirhams. They have also robes (aksiya), ṭailasāns, and fine woolen cloth (thiyāb).[41]

Damghan in particular produces "dessert napkins with fine borders (dastār-hā-yi-sharāb bā 'alam-hā-yi-nīkū)" according to the *Ḥudūd*.[42] Yāḳūt [43] noted that excellent napkins (mandīl) were made in Simnān.

DJURDJĀN

The province of Djurdjān manufactured silks, mainly at the capital, a town of the same name which was finally taken by Yazīd ibn Muhallab about (98 H. [716 A.D.]). The *Djirāb al-Dawla* of Ma'mūn's reign gives a thousand pieces of ibrīsm silk as being part of the tribute of the caliphs. Among its exports, Djāḥiẓ [44] numbers soft yarmaḳ [45] and excellent ibrīsm silk.

The geographers bear a monotonous similarity to one another. Ya'ḳūbī [46] said that various garments of silk (ḥarīr) are made there, and Ibn al-Faḳīh: "The people of Djurdjān have ibrīsm silk not to be found in other countries, and it is exported everywhere. They are

[33] Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 338, trans., II, 44.

[34] W. Barthold, *Turkistán at the Time of the Mongolian Invasion*, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1927), n.s., V, 283–84.

[35] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," *op. cit.*, p. 345.

[36] Ya'ḳūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

[37] Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A'lāḳ al-Nafīsa*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), III, 170.

[38] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

[39] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

[40] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 135.

[41] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

[42] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 135. Or is this "napkins of sharāb," a kind of linen cloth, and not "dessert napkins?"

[43] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 141.

[44] Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

[45] This word is uncertain and the editor suggests narmaḳ (Persian narmah), which was a kind of soft cloth. Cf. Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, Glossary, and Djawālīḳī, *Kitāb al-Mu'arrab*, ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1867), p. 146.

[46] Ya'ḳūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

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skilled in the manufacture of brocade, veils (or headcloths, maḳāni'), garments, curtains (sutūr)."[47]

Iṣṭakhrī said: "A great deal of ibrīsm silk is produced there. The eggs of the silkworm for the ibrīsm silk of Ṭabaristān are brought from Djurdjān, but no ibrīsm is produced from the eggs of the silkworm of Ṭabaristān."[48] Ibn Ḥawḳal added: "The Khazars have no clothing (malbūs), which is only brought to them from the districts of Djurdjān, Ṭabaristān, Azerbaijan, Rūm (Byzantium), and the neighboring lands."[49] This is an important indication of the large trade with Central Asia. The famous textile found by Stein in Turkestan may have come from this region.[50] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi[51] noted that it had Djurdjānī figured washī stuff.

The *Ḥudūd*[52] says: "Djurdjān produces black silk textiles, long veils (viḳāya), brocade (dībā), and raw silk textiles (ḳazīn)." Maḳdisī[53] added: "The people of Djurdjān have silken veils (maḳāni' ḳazzīyāt) which are taken to Yemen. . . . and brocade of a poor kind." The *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*[54] says: "Some of the products special to Djurdjān are the black garments, stuffs of twisted (silk?) (mabārim), poppy colored garments (?) (thayāb khashkhāshīya) which excel in fineness and softness the Ḥaffī garments of Nishapur." Yāḳūt[55] quoted the earlier authorities for the exports of ibrīsm silk. Like so many other cities, Djurdjān was ruined at the Mongol conquest.

The second city in Djurdjān province was Astarābād, a place of remote antiquity, the refounding of which is, however, ascribed to the Arabs at the end of the first century of the Hijra. Iṣṭakhrī[56] informed us that "much ibrīsm silk is derived from it. They have a seaport (Ābaskūn) and sail thence to the Khazars, Derbent, Djīl, and Dailam." The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*[57] says: "From it come many silk textiles such as mubram and za'fūrī." Maḳdisī[58] knew that "most of them are weavers of ḳazz silk, and skilled in its manufacture."

The port of Djurdjān and Astarābād was Ābaskūn of which the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* says: "It is a haunt for merchants from the whole world trading on the Khazar (Caspian) Sea. . . . From it come shagreen and woolen cloth (kīmukhta va-pashmīn)."[59]

After the conquest by the Mongols, Mustawfī[60] noted that cotton and silk still were found in Djurdjān and silk in Astarābād.

[47] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, pp. 254–56.
[48] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
[49] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
[50] A. Stein, *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks* (London, 1933), which contains an illustration in color of a textile with the Sasanian pearl pattern.
[51] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 268.
[52] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 133.
[53] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 367.
[54] Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
[55] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 49.
[56] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
[57] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 134.
[58] Maḳdisī, p. 358.
[59] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 134.
[60] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—Hamadhānī (*Maḳāmāt* [Beirut, 1924], pp. 119 f.), in the fourth century of the Hijra, describes a napkin (mindīl): "It is the weave of Djurdjān, and the manufacture of Arradjān. I came across it and bought it; my wife made part into trousers (sarāwīl), and part into a napkin. Twenty dhirā' were used for the trousers, but I took this length out of her hands and gave it to the embroiderer (muṭarriz) so that he made it as you see and gave it a ṭirāz (or embroidered it, ṭarrazahā)."

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CHAPTER VIII

DJIBĀL

THE GREAT CERAMIC CENTER RAYY OR RHAGES, IN DJIBĀL, BESIDES BEING FAMED FOR A KIND of lustered pottery and the ware painted with human figures, was also a noted textile center. From several indications in the passages quoted below, this city must have been the possessor of a ṭirāz factory.

Baihaḳī [1] related that the wife of Khālid ibn Barmak sent her husband a robe (kiswa) from Rayy, a folded (or shrunk) ṭailasān (ṭailasān muṭabbaḳ). Though no textiles are mentioned in the *Djirāb al-Dawla* as being sent with the tribute to Baghdad, another early source, Djāḥiẓ,[2] gave a list of exports which includes "yarmaḳ [3] weapons, fine cloth, combs (amshāṭ), royal ḳalansuwa caps (al-ḳalānis al-malikīya), Ḳassī stuffs (al-Ḳassīyāt), and linen." Ibn al-Faḳīh [4] (290 H. [903 A.D.]) added that, besides silk (ḥarīr) and glazed (mudahhan) pottery, they had white ṭirāzī robes (aksiya), and splendid white ṭailasāns, as well as the munaiyar garments (a stuff with a double warp).

Iṣṭakhrī remarked: "There are brought from Rayy and exported to other places, cotton which is taken to Baghdad and Azerbaijan, munaiyar garments, striped cloaks (abrād), and robes (aksiya)." [5] The *Ḥudūd* mentions: "It produces cotton stuffs (kirbās), cloaks (burd), cotton. From its districts come woolen ṭailasāns (scarves worn on the head)." [6] Maḳdisī, too, hardly varied, noting that their cloth (bazz) is renowned, and that "there are brought from Rayy the cloaks (burd), the munaiyar, cotton, and needles (masāll)." [7]

The *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* states:

> The specialties of Rayy are the cloaks (burūd) of Rayy of the same description as the Yemen cloaks called 'Adanīyāt because of their resemblance to the cloaks of Aden in Yemen.[8] Al-Murādī said in describing a falcon (shāhīn): "You would think, when he alights on the swampy ground, that he had scattered the pearls above a robe of Rayy (burd Rāzī)." Another of the specialties of Rayy consists of the munaiyar garments.[9]

This note on the resemblance of these garments to the Aden type is most interesting;

[1] Al-Baihaḳī (Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad), *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-Masāwī,* ed. P. Schwally (Giessen 1902), p. 211.

[2] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l' acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 345.

[3] For yarmaḳ see the note in Chapter VII, n. 45. Ḳassī stuffs are more fully discussed in Chapter XVI, but the reading here is probably incorrect.

[4] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 253–54.

[5] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum . . . .*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 210. Cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna. . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1873), II, 270.

[6] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 132.

[7] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici, B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed.; 1906), III, 391, 395–96.

[8] These may have been made by the "ikat" process, and this may be what the author means when he compares the two types, though burūd are made of wool. See N. P. Britton, *A Study of Some Early Islamic Textiles* (Boston, 1938).

[9] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1876), p. 111.

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perhaps one might infer that the original design went from Aden to Persia, and that this might have taken place in the time of the Persian domination of South Arabia. There was a considerable import of textiles of the Sasanian kind into Arabia as we know from a number of sources.

After the conquest, Mustawfī [10] found that cotton and corn grew well in Rayy. Ghāzān Khān brought back some people to it and tried to bring back its former prosperity. As a cloth manufacturing center, however, it seems to have lost all its importance at the time of its destruction.

All the geographers unite to praise the products of Isfahan, the sole dissentient voice being that of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, whose aim was to satirize the inhabitants of that city.

Ibn Rusta (290 H. [903 A.D.]) knew the products of the districts to the southeast of Isfahan very well, for he said:

> In it (Ruwaidasht) are made the carpets (busuṭ) which chiefs and nobles are not too proud to use as furnishings (farsh), and which are not often found in the possession of the middle and lower classes, their beauty, the excellence of their manufacture, and their durable qualities being renowned throughout all countries. If they are used with the splendid Armenian type of carpeting (farsh), they go very well with it, and the result is very satisfactory. Precious curtains (sutūr) used to be made there, which surpassed those of Mosul and Wāsiṭ in beauty and excellent lasting qualities.[11]

Djāḥiẓ [12] knew of their saffron and fine cloth (thawb) which came from Isfahan, though he placed their robes (aksiya) in an inferior position to the robes of Miṣrī wool, and those from Fars and from Khuzistan.

Ibn al-Faḳīh [13] remarked that it had been said that there were more Jews, weavers, and adulterers in Isfahan than elsewhere. Benjamin of Tudela [14] also spoke of the many Jews in Isfahan, but the tradition that the Jews were planted there in the time of Nebuchadnezzar seems unreliable.

Ibn al-Faḳīh further mentioned the Iṣfahānī 'Attābī, which was in all likelihood an imitation of the famous Baghdad stuff. He wrote:

> . . . . the second Baghdad, I mean Isfahan and the excellent climate and sweet water with which they have been endowed, and the skill in the various arts which has been given them. They have Merv stuffs and 'Attābī and wonderful mulḥam stuffs (which had a warp of silk, but a woof of some other material), and cloaks (ḥulla) of ibrīsm silk, woven and unwoven (understand "with gold"), and Sa'īdī garments.[15]

These latter garments were also made in Sana. The common types of material made in many provinces of Islam emphasize the cosmopolitan nature of the city's industries.

[10] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī), *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb,* trans. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 59. Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–37), and Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān,* ed. T. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), merely repeat pre-Mongol sources.

[11] Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A'lāḳ al-Nafīsa,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), III, 153.

[12] *Djāḥiẓ, op. cit.,* pp. 345 and 337.

[13] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.,* p. 267.

[14] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* ed. and trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), p. 58.

[15] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.,* pp. 50 and 254.

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According to Iṣṭakhrī [16] Isfahan exported also: "From it 'Attābī, washī figured stuffs, and all kinds of silk cloth (*thiyāb*) and cotton were brought, and sent to Iraq, Pars, Khurasan and the other provinces." This account was expanded by Ibn Ḥawḳal:

It is the emporium of Fars, Djibāl, Khurasan, and Khuzistan. . . . From it are brought the 'Attābī, washī, and other garments of ibrīsm silk and cotton with which Iraq is supplied, and Fars, Djibāl, Khurasan, and Khuzistan. There is nothing like the 'Attābī of Isfahan in excellence, and luster (or quality, djawharīya). Its saffron is exported to Iraq and other places.[17]

The *Ḥudūd* [18] only gives "silk textiles of different kinds, as cloaks (ḥulla), tabby (Attābī, coarse watered silk), and siḳlāṭūn."

Of Yahūdīya, the citadel of Isfahan, Maḳdisī said: "In it there are many great merchants and skilled artisans as well as cloth which is taken to all regions." [19] Again he remarked that "it has a cloth market (sūḳ al-bazzāzīn) after the manufacture of Sidjistān," and that it is famous for its "elegant cloaks (ḥulla) and earthenware (fakhkhār)." These cloaks are included in the list of luxurious stuffs mentioned in the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* [20] by a courtier of 'Aḍud al-Dawla.

Idrīsī [21] informed us that "at Isfahan there are factories (métiers) where they make rich silken stuffs such as 'Attābī, washī, and others, and cotton stuffs. Fine saffron is also found. After Rayy there is no greater town than Isfahan (in Djibāl)."

Ḳazwīnī was unusually communicative about Isfahan:

It is proverbial for the skill of its artisans and these artisans have a skilled hand for the fine crafts. You cannot see calligraphy (khuṭūṭ) like that of the people of Isfahan, nor any ornament (tazwīḳ) like theirs. This applies to their craftsmen in every art—they surpass other craftsmen to such an extent, that their weavers will weave a veil (khimār) of cotton of a length of four dhirā', the weight of which is four mithḳāls.[22]

Of Nahr Zarīn Rūdh [23] in Isfahan, he said: "Coarse thread is washed in this water, becoming soft and easy to the touch as silk."

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim's satire [24] has preserved some notes on the costume of Isfahan:

There are spread out therein (i.e., in the houses) Ruwaidasht carpets (zullīya), Iraq velvets (ḳuṭuf Sawādīya), Kurdish cloth (musūḥ [25]), and Djābrawānī cushions (makhādd [26]). Both in sum-

[16] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

[17] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

[18] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 131.

[19] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 388, 395–96, 425.

[20] Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

[21] Idrīsī, *Géographie*, trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris 1836–40), II, 168.

[22] Ḳazwīnī, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), II, 196 and 198.

[23] G. Le Strange calls this locality Zarīnrūdh, and Ruwaidasht Rūdasht.

[24] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 37.

[25] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden 1879–1901), II, 785, noted that in the year 68 H. (687–88 A.D.), Damascus was decorated with musūḥ which must have been some kind of hanging. Again (*ibid.*, II, 1170) he mentioned trousers of musūḥ, in the year 85 H. (704 A.D.).

[26] C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique, et littéraire de la Perse* (Paris, 1861), p. 147. Djābrawān, "Ville d' Azerbaijan voisine de Tebriz."

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mer and winter you sit upon carpets (zullīya) and coverlets ('abā'). On your bodies you wear garments of rough Mervian weave homespun. . . . Your shirts are of a like nature, and also your turbans. . . . When you wish to appear fine you put on shawls, and your children put on striped cloaks (abrād), and turbans of cotton of dark-blue (kuḥlī) color, in the fringes of which hang threads of green and red color.

While Isfahan is under our notice it might be interesting to compare the account of its industries by a certain Raphael de Mans, a European author of the early seventeenth century. This of course, properly speaking, falls outside the scope of our work:

Un autre trafic est celui des toiles d'or, et d'argent faictes à Hispan, zerbaft, faictes par figures de soye, comme à haute lice, en quoy l'on travaille icy en Hispan à merveille avec peu d'instruments; quatre picquets emmanchées l'un dans l'autre suffisent, car icy tous les ouvriers travaillent avec peu de frais. Toutes ces estoffes avoient cy devant un grand cours et se vendoient bien aux Indes. A présent qu'il y a deffense d'orner de ces estoffes les pelenquis ordinairement aux Indes, ce trafic est fort anéanti. Tel Charbafe (sha'rbāf), ouvrier, qui avoit vingt et trente destega (dastgāh), (ouvroüers) n'en peut garder deux ou trois, et avec cela ils n'ont pas de l'eau à boire. La plus part de ces ouvriers se sont mis à tisser de la toile joula (čūlā or čūlwārī), ou des taffetas.

L'on trafique encore de tapis de Turquie, qui se fait icy fort beaux et qui se transportent hors de le pais. Mais ceci ne donne pas un grand denier.[27]

Other passages describe how golden thread was made there:

Les ouvriers principaux icy sont les Charbafes (sha'rbāf), ouvriers en toile d' or, et d'argent et de soye à haute lice, en quoy ils surpassent l'Occident pour de peu faire quelque chose. Il est vray que les zerbafes, ou estoffes de l'or de Venise, sont ici plus chères et plus estimées à cause qu'ils sont plus chargées d'or et de l'argent, celles d'ici estant plus à la légère. Mesme dans Yezde, l'on tire si délié le fil de talon que l'on le met en estoffe comme or, que durant six mois, l'on auroit de la peine à le discerner d'avec le vrai filet d'or.

Zerkesh (zarkash) sont ceux qui tirent l'or et l'argent en filets par filières si délicats que à peine l'on le voit.

Makkekou (mākū-kūb) sont ceux qui, sur des enclumes très polies et marteaux de mesme, aplatissent cet argent et cet or traicts et les femmes des ouvriers les roulent sur la soye pour les employer.

Ces trois sortes d'ouvriers n'en doivent rien aux nostres pour l'habileté, vu le peu d'instruments dont ils se servent.[28]

OTHER TEXTILE CITIES IN DJIBĀL

Though Hamadan is so large and famous a town, Maḳdisī[29] is the only person who mentioned textiles there: "From Hamadan and its districts come cloth (bazz), fox and sable

[27] R. de Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660,* ed. C. Schefer (Paris, 1890), p. 186.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 195. There are of course many travelers who have left accounts of manufactures in Isfahan such as Tavernier and others.

[29] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* pp. 395–96.

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furs . . . . the most delightful and costly ṭailasāns, as well as beautiful robes (aksiya)." According to Benjamin of Tudela there were many Jews there.[30]

The Kazvin robes are mentioned by Ibn al-Faḳīh,[31] and Iṣṭaḵhrī [32] also added: "Goat hair robes (mar'izzā) and stockings are made there as is well known." Tha'ālibī [33] included these stockings (djawārib) in the list of precious articles of Buwaihid times.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi [34] mentioned the garments of Dastuwā, and Yāḳūt [35] added that Dastuwā'ī robes are ascribed to it. Idrīsī reported that these stuffs were manufactured at Antioch and stuff very like them in Damascus.[36]

Kum. Maḳdisī [37] said: "From Kum come cloth (bazz) and a great deal of saffron." Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi also knew of its saffron.

Ardistan (modern Arūsūn). Yāḳūt [38] said: "There are brought thence the beautiful garments which are exported everywhere."

Shahrazūr. Abu 'l-Fidā' [39] from earlier sources noted that it had an active commerce in cotton.

In the Īl-Khānid period, Mustawfī Kazwīnī [40] gave a list of manufacturing cities. Sulṭānīya,[41] the Mongol capital with its ṭirāz, has been mentioned previously. The other cities are: Varāmīn, which grew up after the destruction of Rayy, cotton; Farāhān, Asadābād, Nehavand, Rūdbār, cotton; Sāva, Fīrūzān, Āva, cotton. In the mountainous regions between Iraq (A'djamī) and Gīlān, Dailamān and Ashkūr also produce cotton.

[30] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* p. 57.

[31] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.,* p. 50.

[32] Iṣṭaḵhrī, *op. cit.,* p. 201, in one MS only. Cf. Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 573.

[33] Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.,* p. 132.

[34] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 267.

[35] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* II, 574.

[36] R. Dozy. *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927), I, 441, reading Dastuwā'ī for Dastrī. Nevertheless, perhaps a better emendation would be Tustarī. See Chap. XIV, n. 25. al-Suyūṭī, *Lubb al-Albāb,* ed. P. J. Veth, *Specimen e litteris orientalibus. . . .* (Leyden, 1840–51), p. 105, said, however, that Dastuwā is a place near Ahwāz which exports cloth.

[37] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 396.

[38] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* I, 198.

[39] *Géographie d'Aboulféda,* trans. by M. Reinaud (Paris, 1847–83), II, 162.

[40] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op cit.,* pp. 58, 61, 65–66, 71, 73, 75–76.

[41] See Chap. II, n. 50.

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CHAPTER IX

KHURASAN

MUCH EARLY INFORMATION ON THE TEXTILE EXPORTS OF THIS AREA IS AVAILABLE (Map 2). The ṭirāz system was established there at an early date, for the *Aghānī*[1] mentions a certain al-Mu'allā ibn Ṭarīf, a slave given to al-Mahdī by Manṣūr and liberated by his new master: "He was made governor of the ṭirāz factories and post offices (barīd) in Khurasan" (*ca.* 150 H. [767 A.D.]). He was later made governor of Ahwāz. The *Djirāb al-Dawla* cited by Ibn Khaldūn[2] notes that a thousand ingots of silver, and 27,000 garments (thawb) were sent with the tribute from Khurasan to Baghdad. Ibn Khurdādbih[3] reported that 1,187 pieces of coarse Kundadjī muslin (karābis kundadjīya) and striped cloaks (burūd) came from Khurasan as part of the tribute. In the early third century, the *Aghānī*[4] mentions Khurāsānī cloaks (ḳabā') and chests of Khurāsānī cloth presented to a singer by the governor of that province.

Iṣṭakhrī,[5] followed by Ibn Ḥawḳal,[6] said: "In Khurasan are the best stuffs of cotton and ibrīsm silk which come from Nishapur and Merv, and the finest cloth (bazz) from Merv." It is worth noting that Iṣṭakhrī mentioned these two ṭirāz cities together. The migration of workmen from the tirāz of Bokhara to Khurasan about the end of the third or early fourth century was remarked by Narshakhī, who, however, added that they did not succeed well there.

With regard to Merv, we have more references than to almost any other city. A passage from Ibn Ḥawḳal may help to show its importance to the Abbasids: "From Merv emerged the dynasty of the Banū 'Abbās, and it was in the house (dār) of the family of Abū Nadjm al-Mu'aiṭī that the first black (the color of the Abbasids) ever dyed was dyed, and the Musawwida (their followers) arrayed themselves in it."[7] Now, we know from discoveries of actual examples of Mervian cloth, the type of material made there, and furthermore, that a ṭirāz factory existed though there are no literary allusions to it. It is very reasonable to suppose that the Abbasids established a ṭirāz in the city which must have supplied them with much equipment for their attack on Umayyad power, and it was almost certainly one of the

[1] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb, al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–36), VI, 240.

[2] Ibn Khaldūn, *Les Prolégomènes,* trans. by M. de Slane (Paris, 1863–68), I, 364, ed. by M. Quatremère (Paris, 1858), pp. 322–23. For variant readings, see Chap. I, n. 9.

[3] Ibn Khurdādbih, *Kitāb al-Masâlik wa 'l-Mamâlik,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (= *B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1889), VI, text p. 38, trans. p. 28. Kundadjī is probably the same work as Kundakī (coarse garments) made at Arradjān. See *Indices, Glossarium et Addenda . . .*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1879), IV. The reading "burūd" is doubtful and only appears in Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici, B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 340. The text has "murūr" or "ḳudūr."

[4] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.,* V, 294.

[5] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum . . .*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 282.

[6] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna . . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1873), II, 330.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 316, Cf. *Géographie d'Aboulféda,* texte arabe, ed. M. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 446, trans. (Paris, 1847–83), II, 186.

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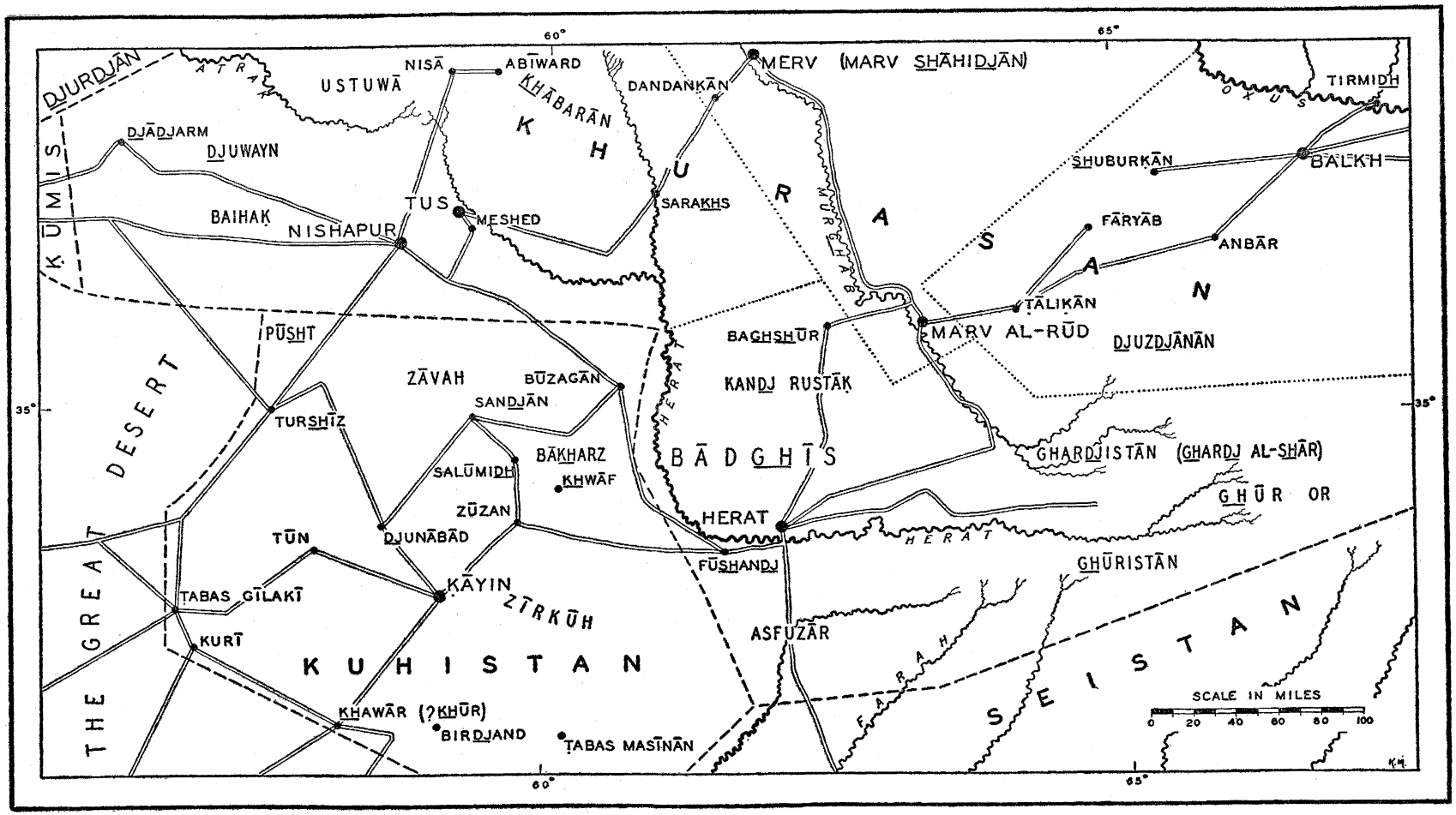

Map 2—Khurasan and Kuhistan

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ṭirāz cities under the control of Ibn Ṭarīf. Yāḳūt [8] stated that Ma'mūn, who for a time actually resided in Merv, and, like Ibn Ṭarīf, had control of the ṭirāz of Khurasan, was very fond of the soft cotton (ḳuṭn) of Merv.

The Merv stuffs resembled those of the Tinnīs-Damietta group and bore silk inscriptions. An example will be found in the *Répertoire chronologique,*[9] dated 293 H. (906 A.D.), the reign of al-Muḳtafī.

Djāḥiẓ [10] knew it as exporting Mervian carpets (ṭinfisa) and Mervian cloth, and Ya'ḳūbī [11] said: "In it are the excellent garments (thiyāb) numbered among the Khurasan garments." Ibn al-Faḳīh [12] added that "the people of Merv have Mervian garments and outstanding mulḥam cloth (with a double warp) which are the finest of their kind." It is probably to those mulḥam stuffs that the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* [13] refers when it speaks of mulḥam of khazz silk and Khurasan as being worn by elegant ladies and gentlemen in Baghdad.

Iṣṭakhrī [14] gave the following curious notes on the industry:

> It produces ibrīsm silk and much ḳazz silk. I have heard that the origin of ibrīsm in Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān was by transference in olden times from Merv. Perhaps the silkworm was brought from it to Ṭabaristān. From it is brought the cotton which is called after it, soft cotton, and the garments despatched to all regions.

This compares with Ibn Ḥawḳal's account:

> There is brought from Merv, ibrīsm silk, and much ḳazz silk. It is said that the origin of ḳazz silk in Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān in former times was from Merv. From it is brought the cotton which is named after it in other countries. It is of the utmost softness. There are brought from it the garments despatched to all countries.[15]

By "former times" the author is probably referring to some time in the Sasanian era, as silk stuffs were sent from Ṭabaristān to Iraq before the Muslim conquest.[16] Even Africa and Spain imported or imitated those Mervian stuffs, for "une belle housse d'étoffe mervienne" is mentioned in Africa in the latter half of the ninth century in Bakrī's account of the province's history under Idrīsid rule.[17]

Brief notes occur in the *Ḥudūd*: "Merv produces good cotton textiles of raw silk

[8] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), IV, 508.

[9] *Répertoire chronologique d' épigraphie arabe,* ed. É. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet (Cairo, 1931), III, 39. Cf. G. Wiet, *L' Exposition persane de 1931* (Cairo, 1933).

[10] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l' acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 343.

[11] Ya'ḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Boldān, B.G.A.,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1892), VII, 279.

[12] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 254.

[13] Al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā,* ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), pp. 124 and 126.

[14] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.,* p. 263.

[15] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 316.

[16] See Chap. VII.

[17] Al-Bakrī, *Description de l' Afrique septentrionale,* trans. by M. de Slane (Alger, 1913), p. 187.

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(ḳazīn) and of mulḥam silk." [18] Maḳdisī [19] added: "From Merv come mulḥam stuffs, and head veils (maḳāni') of ḳazz silk, ibrīsm silk, and cotton." The Spanish Arab Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi [20] knew that Merv was famous for its garments, mentioning it among other ṭirāz cities, and Tha'ālibī [21] reported that al-Mustakfī left the number of 63,000 Khurasan Merv and Shu'aibī [22] garments, and 13,000 Merv turbans ('imāma). Miskawaihī [23] called these Merv turbans "Shāhidjānī" (*ca.* 372 H. [982 A.D.]), and they were one of the most famous products of the city.

The loose sense in which the term Mervi was applied was commented upon by Tha'ālibī (350–429 H. [961–1073 A.D.]):

> The Arabs used to call every close woven garment brought from Khurasan "Marawī" and every fine garment exported from it "Shāhidjānī," because Merv in their eyes was the chief city of Khurasan and was called Marv Shāhidjān. The name Shāhidjānī has persisted for the fine robes to this day. The particular article for which Merv is noted is the mulḥam cloth. One day Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Bustī al-Kātib said to me: "Do you know a town, the first letter of which is a mīm, whence four things are brought by way of gifts, the name of each beginning with a mīm?" I replied, "If you ask me to say offhand, I do not know, but I could think it over, and perhaps I might discover it." He answered: "It is Merv, whence come mulḥam, pastry (mulabban), cake (murrī), and brooms (makānis)." [24]

Idrīsī said: "From this country is derived much silk and 'bourre de soie' as well as cotton of a superior quality under the name of Merv cotton, which is extremely soft. It is with this cotton that they make the various stuffs designed for export." [25] Yāḳūt was more precise and mentioned Shāwashkān, a village of Merv: "To it is ascribed extremely good ibrīsm silk which I have actually seen." [26]

In the Ṭāhirid period Merv ceased to be the capital, which was transferred to Nishapur, but this did not affect its fame. In the Mongol invasion it was completely destroyed and all the inhabitants but four hundred artisans murdered. The city never recovered, and though Abu 'l-Fidā' mentioned large exports of ibrīsm silk and cotton this must refer to the Abbasid period.[27]

[18] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 105.

[19] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 324.

[20] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 267–68.

[21] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 72. Cf. *Yatīmat al-Dahr* (Damascus, 1866–67), II, 62, mentioning "a white Merv turban." The word translated as "close woven" might perhaps better be rendered by "coarse" in antithesis to the fine stuffs.

[22] See R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes,* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927), for this as yet uncertain name.

[23] Miskawaihī, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate,* ed. and trans. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920–21), text, III, 44, trans., VI, 41.

[24] Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.,* pp. 119–20.

[25] Idrīsī, *Géographie,* trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 467.

[26] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* III, 245.

[27] *Géographie d' Aboulfeda,* text, p. 446, trans., II, 186. Other texts where Mervian stuffs are mentioned are Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara, Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge,* ed. and trans. by D. S. Margoliouth, Or. Trans. Fund, text, p. 218, trans., p. 229; Mutanabbī, *Dīwān* (Beirut, 1882), p. 17, who calls it "ape's dress," and *The Arabian Nights,* trans. by E. W. Lane (New York, 1927), p. 320. As an epithet, the adjective "soft" is usually applied to it. Al-Muṭarrizī (Nāṣir

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Nishapur, too, was early famed for its textile manufactures. The name of the city is derived from the Sasanian Shapur, either the first or second monarch of that name. Possibly after the fashion of Persian rulers, prisoners of war and deportees were settled there. Its prosperity, however, dates from the time when Abdallah ibn Ṭāhir made it his capital in the third (ninth) century. It is curious that so many cities founded by the Sasanian monarchs should have possessed a ṭirāz.

Ibn al-Faḳīh (290 H. [903 A.D.]) stated: "The people of Nishapur have the mulḥam and Ṭāhirid cloths, and also tākhtandj and rākhtandj which no other people have."[28] This Ṭāhiri cloth figures in no other geographer, though tākhtandj and rākhtandj are not uncommon. The name would seem to refer to the cloth which was made for the Ṭāhirid governors in Nishapur, possibly with a ṭirāz border, the style of which may have persisted after they lost their power. The 'Arīb[29] stated that the Caliph al-Muḳtadir used to ride in a cloak (ḳabā') of this tākhtandj (twisted material, twisted silk?); al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi' talked of trousers (sarāwīlāt) of Dabīḳī, turbans ('imāma), shirts (durrā'a), and linings of tākhtandj.[30]

Iṣṭakhrī[31] was very brief: "Various kinds of cotton and ibrīsm silk are made there which are taken to all the countries of Islam and all the heathen countries on account of their abundance and excellence." Ibn Ḥawḳal was more prolix:

> There are many khans and depots (funduḳ) where merchants stay with merchandise for the purpose of doing business there. . . . Those who are not wealthy have a market in another place and depots (funduḳ) where those skilled in their crafts stay in constructed booths and among working people. The factories (ḥānūt) filled with craftsmen such as the makers of ḳalansuwa caps have in the middle of their market a depot (funduḳ) in which are many booths. The shoemakers (asākifa), cobblers (kharrāz), ropemakers (ḥabbāl), ... are after this style. As for the funduḳ of the clothmakers (bazzāz) and their storehouses (khānbārāt) therein, and trade, most countries have a part in that and are not to be found missing. . . . From it are brought various kinds of cloth (bazz) and splendid garments of cotton and ḳazz silk taken to Islamic and some heathen countries on account of their abundance, excellence, and the fondness of kings and nobles for wearing them, because the like of them does not come from any land and could not be made in any other district.[32]

The *Ḥudūd*[33] summarily says: "It produces various textiles (djāma), silk, and cotton." Maḳdisī[34] was the first author to notice its ṭirāz factory: "There is no equal to the

ibn 'Abd al-Saiyid al-Muṭarrizī) in *al-Mughrib fī Tartīb al-Mu'ṛib* (Haidarabad, 1328 H.), who was born in 538 H. (1143–44 A.D.) said (II, 12): "The ṭirāz is the ornamented border ('alam) of the cloth (thawb), and a 'thawb ṭirāzī' is named after the ṭirāz. It is also the name of a place in Merv, and a quarter (maḥālla) is also called Ṭirāz." Again he said (*op. cit.*, II, 183): "The two Mervs are Marw al-Rūdh and Marw al-Shāhidjān, both in Khurasan, and according to Khwāhar-zāda, Mervian cloth (thiyāb) . . . . is named after a district (balad) in Iraq, on the bank of the Euphrates." It is difficult to assess the reliability of these statements. (Ref. from M. Minovi.)

[28] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 254. It is, however, just possible that this Ṭahirī cloth is named after Ṭāhirīya in Khoresm where it may have originated, though Ṭāhirīya is not specifically mentioned as a textile center.

[29] 'Arīb, *Ṭabarī continuatus*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1897), p. 167.

[30] Al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Leyden, 1904), pp. 175–76.

[31] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

[32] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

[33] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 102.

[34] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, pp. 325 and 323.

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brocade (dīwādj), ṭirāz, clay (ṭīn), Shāhidjānī (stuff), needles, knives, and white currants (rībās) of Nishapur." Of its products he said:

There are brought from Nishapur white ḥaffī [35] garments, and the baibāf,[36] the ḥaffī Shāhidjānī turbans ('imāma), rākhtandj and tākhtandj, veils called "between garments" and the mulḥam stuff (with a double warp) with ḳazz silk, the cloth of one color (muṣmat), 'Attābī, Sa'īdī,[37] ẓarā'ifī,[38] mushṭī,[39] striped cloaks (ḥulla), and garments of goat hair (thiyāb al-sha'r) as well as expensive thread (ghazl). . . . From the districts of Nishapur come many coarse cloths.

The Shāhidjānī stuffs may have been imitated from those of Merv.

The *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* [40] gives an account which varies considerably from that of Maḳdisī, though the two texts are similar enough for corruptions to be suspected:

Among the specialties of Nishapur are the ḥaffī garments, and Aṣīrī kerchiefs (mandīl), ṭākhtandj and rākhtandj, and cloth of one color (muṣmat). As regards striped cloaks (ḥulla), 'Attābī, and siḳlāṭūn stuffs, Baghdad and Nishapur share in them. Sābirī is the fine soft kind of any garment but the origin of it is the attribution to Nishapur which is arabicized to Sābirī.

Nāṣir-i-Khusraw compared its thread with that of Miṣr:

From a trustworthy cloth merchant I have heard that they buy one dirham-weight of thread (rīsmān) for three Maghribī dinars, i.e. three and a half Nīshāpūrī dinars. So I asked in Nishapur at how much they bought the best thread and they said that the best variety sold at one dirham for five dirham weights.[41]

Idrīsī [42] mentioned, *en passant,* the ṭirāz factories of the city.

These cloths were popular among the fashionable in Baghdad for the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* [43] talks of ṭailasāns of Nīshāpūrī mulḥam stuff among the clothes of a gentleman, while ladies wore Nishapur veils (maḳāni').

During the Mongol conquest, the hordes from Central Asia, completely sacked the city, and it never recovered completely, and as we can see from Ibn Baṭūṭa [44] (756 H. [1355 A.D.]) the very type of manufacture changed: "At Nishapur are made silken garments (ḥarīr) of nakhkh and velvet (kamkhā) . . ., which are taken to India." These stuffs were also made in Baghdad and Tabriz.[45]

[35] A kind of cloth made with the instrument known as ḥaff. See Chap. V, n. 55.

[36] M. J. de Goeje in "Indices," *Glossarium et Addenda . . . . B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1879), IV, suggests that this kind of garment is derived from the Persian pai-bāf, a weaver.

[37] This stuff was made in the Yemen at Sana, according to al-Bakrī. See de Goeje, *op. cit.* Sa'īdī is a material as yet unidentified.

[38] Another unidentified stuff.

[39] Stuff made with a comb. See Chap. V, n. 55.

[40] Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.,* p. 116. Cf. *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 429.

[41] Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma,* ed. and trans. by C. Schefer, *Relation du Voyage de Nassiri Khosrau,* Publications de l'école des langues orientales vivantes (Paris, 1881), II, I, text p. 52.

[42] Idrīsī, *Idrisii Palaestina et Syria,* ed. J. Gildemeister (Bonn, 1885), p. 14.

[43] Al-Washshā', *op. cit.,* pp. 124 and 126.

[44] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah,* ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), III, 81.

[45] *Ibid.,* II, 311.

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Nuwairī[46] (d. 732 H. [1332 A.D.]) noted the fine Nishapur garments as being the specialty of the town, but he was probably following pre-Mongol sources.[47]

OTHER TEXTILE CENTERS

In the Nishapur quarter of the province lay a group of industrial towns. One manuscript of Iṣṭakhrī,[48] remarking that Ṭīb trouser cords are unsurpassed, adds: "... except for what has been introduced in Ṭūs, and they make in it a kind finer than those of Ṭīb." The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*[49] says that: "It produces trouser cords (shalvār-band) and stockings." Maḳdisī[50] added: "From Ṭūs come beautiful trouser cords (tikka) and fine striped cloaks (abrād)."

"From Ustuwā," said Maḳdisī,[51] "much cloth is brought." East again of this is Nisā, of which he remarked: "From Nisā and Abīward are brought ḳazz silk and garments of it . . . . and zanbaft (garments of womens' weaving ?[52]), and from Nisā, banbūzī[53] garments and fox furs." The Mongol leader Tādjin Nuwīn demanded 10,000 dhirā' of stuff (khām) from the city at the time of the conquest, so it must have had considerable manufactures.[54] On the borders of the desert between Khoresm (Khwārizm) and Nishapur was Shahrastān, three days away from Nisā. Yāḳūt[55] said: "There are made in it the long turbans ('imāma) of high price. I can find nothing to approve of in them." Ḳazwīnī[56] said: "From it are exported the long turbans of high price and its people are skilled in manufacturing them."

Of Sarakhs, Yāḳūt[57] noted: "Its inhabitants have a skilful hand for the manufacture of veils (maḳāni'), and turbans embroidered in colors and gold ('aṣā'ib manḳūsha wa-mudhahhaba)." Ḳazwīnī[58] repeated this: "Its inhabitants have a skilled hand for the manufacture of turbans and veils embroidered with gold (manḳūsha) which are taken thence to other countries and named after it."

From Dandanḳān, Merv probably drew cotton for its manufactures, but only Abu 'l-Fidā'[59] has deigned to notice its products, following an earlier authority: "This district is one of the most plentiful countries for silk (ḥarīr). Its cotton is proverbial for excellence. These two products are exported."

Herat was famed for its materials in the early Umayyad period, and a Herat loose shirt

[46] Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1927–37), I, 363.

[47] Isḥāḳ b. al-Ḥusain, *Kitāb Ākām al-Narḏjān,* ed. A. Codazzi, *Rend. d. r. accad. naz. dei Lincei,* VI (1929), V (*ca.* 340 H. [950 A.D.]), mentions garments of silk (ḥarīr) and cotton.

[48] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.,* p. 94.

[49] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 103.

[50] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 325.

[51] *Ibid.,* p. 319.

[52] *Ibid.,* p. 324. Perhaps "zarbaft" should be read here.

[53] In *Indices, Glossarium et Addenda,* de Goeje suggests that this word is derived from the Persian panba, "cotton."

[54] Muhammad al-Nassawī, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti,* ed. by O. Houdas (Paris, 1891), III, IX, 58. Khām probably means raw silk here.

[55] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* III, 343. See also Map. 4.

[56] Ḳazwīnī, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), II, 266.

[57] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* III, 72.

[58] Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.,* II, 261.

[59] *Géographie d' Aboulféda,* text, p. 459, trans., II, 197.

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without sleeves (ḳarḳar Harawī [60]) is mentioned in the *Aghānī*,[61] and precious Herat robes are noted at Mecca in the time of 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a. They were probably yellow for Ṭabarī [62] mentioned in the annals for the year 77 H. (696 A.D.) that Ḳutaiba wore a yellow Herat cloak (ḳabā' Harawī aṣfar). As early as the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, Mudjīr al-Dīn [63] said that the servants in the Dome of the Rock wore striped stuffs of Merv and Herat called 'aṣb, thus they must have been exported even then. Ṭabarī [64] heard that Manṣūr once wore a patched Herat djubba, a fact in keeping with his character.

Maḳdisī [65] gave as its products: "....much cloth (bazz), cheap brocade, and taffeta (Khuldī)." Stuffs of this name were sent by one of the Marīnid sultans to the Mameluke al-Malik al-Nāṣir, but whether they came from Herat or were made in Spain, it is impossible to say.[66] Tha'ālibī [67] noted that "from Herat muslins (kirbās), twisted stuffs (mubram), and brocades are exported."

Mustawfī [68] reported that at the time of the kings of Ghūr, there were 12,000 shops in Herat, which would argue great prosperity.

In the region east of Herat known as Ghardj al-Shār (later called Ghardjistān), Maḳdisī [69] remarked the special products "felts (lubūd), beautiful carpets (busuṭ), and saddle trappings with all that implies (ḥaḳā'ib, saddle-cushions, etc)."

Balkh does not seem to have been particularly famous for its textiles. According to Maḳdisī: "Belts (wiḳāya) after the manufacture of Djurdjān, and striped cloaks" [70] were made. The *Faḍā'il al-Balkh* [71] only mentions the ibrīshm silk of Fergana as being produced there (610 H. [1214 A.D.]). The sequence of its history was broken by the Mongol conquest, and Ibn Baṭūṭa found it a complete ruin.

Of Djuzdjānān, the western quarter of the Balkh district of Khurasan, the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* [72] says: "It produces felts, saddle bags (ḥaḳība), saddle girths (tang-i-asp), zīlū, and palas" (the last a woolen garment worn by the poor). It includes the city of Ṭāliḳān, which is well documented. Djāḥiẓ [73] found that "the best felts are the Chinese (Ṣīnī)

[60] See the "Glossary" to Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), under ḳarḳar.

[61] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, I, 259 ff. and the twenty-first volume of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* . . ., ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1888), p. 152.

[62] Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, II, II, 963.

[63] H. Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hebron . . . . par Moudjîr ed-dyn* (Paris, 1876), pp. 52–53. In southwest Arabia 'aṣb was an ikated cloth.

[64] Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, III, I, 415. See Chap. II, Pt. I. Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, III, I, 569, said that when al-Hādī's mother, Khaizurān, died, she left 18,000 of the garments called ḳarḳar.

[65] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

[66] Maḳḳarī, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des arabes en Espagne*, ed. R. Dozy and others (Leyden, 1855–61), II, 711. The plural Khalādī is given here which might perhaps be derived from the Khuld Palace or the near-by districts of Baghdad.

[67] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, p. 119, and *Thimār al-Ḳulūb*, p. 431.

[68] Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, trans. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 150.

[69] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

[70] *Op. cit.*

[71] C. Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane* (Paris, 1883–85), I, 96. See W. Barthold, *Turkistán at the Time of the Mongolian Invasion*, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1927), n.s., V, 36, for remarks on this work.

[72] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 106.

[73] Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

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variety, then the red Maghribī kind, then the white Ṭāliḳānī variety, then the Armenian, then those of Khurasan." Ya'ḳūbī [74] said: "In it are made the Ṭāliḳān felts." Mas'ūdī [75] (219 H. [834 A.D.]) mentioned them too. Idrīsī [76] said: "They make felts of cloth renowned everywhere. There are none so solid and compact as those."

KUHISTAN

Kuhistan was one of the dependencies of Khurasan, from quite early times noted for a cloth which went by the name of Ḳūhī. In the *Aghānī* there is a pleasant little story of the poet 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a (d. 101 H. [719 A.D.]). The poet was in love with a lady but her people disapproved of the most eloquent and seductive versifier of the time, and they married her to another man. 'Umar, carried away by his passion for the lady, wrote a verse upon a piece of Ḳūhī cloth and . . . . ornamented it and sent it to her—a fashion among lovers.[77] Ibn Suraiḥ [78] spoke of girls in Ḳūhī and washī figured stuff who looked like dinars of Heraclius—probably because of their golden color, or because of the gold embroideries.

Ṭabarī [79] mentioned a shirt (ḳamīṣ) of Ḳūhī at the court of al-Manṣūr (144 H. [761 A.D.]) in Baghdad. In the year 160 H. (776–77 A.D.) [80] he told how the emirs and dihḳāns brought the governor of Balkh presents, the governor of Herat and Khurasan bringing, besides gold and silver plates, "Mervian brocade, and Ḳūhī and Herati brocade (al-dībādj al-Marawī wa 'l-Ḳūhī wa 'l-Harawī)." Again a poem in the *Annals* [81] for the year 198 H. (813–14 A.D.) says: "More splendid and cleaner than new Ḳūhī." And again, Tha'ālibi [82] wrote that al-'Abbās ibn al-Ḥasan, the vizier of al-Muktafī (289–95 H. [902–7 A.D.]) used to say: "The likeness of a wise man is like the way of a tailor (khaiyāṭ) who one day cuts out brocade (buzyūn) worth a thousand, and the next, Ḳūhī, worth ten." The *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* [83] mentions soft Ḳūhī linings (mubaṭṭanāt).

Iṣṭakhrī [84] stated that "muslins (kirbās), cloth (musūḥ), and carpet strips (nikhākh), are taken to various regions, but there are no expensive materials there." Maḳdisī [85] knew that "from Kuhistan come the garments resembling the white Nishapur variety and carpets (busuṭ) and prayer carpets (muṣallayāt)." Speaking of Sind, he said: "In all the province, carpets (busuṭ) and the like, of the kind made in Kuhistan and Khurasan are manufactured . . . . From it are brought beautiful garments." [86]

[74] Ya'ḳūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

[75] Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861–77), VII, 117.

[76] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 468.

[77] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, I, 236. The word omitted here is uncertain. It seems probable that the verses (not given here) were embroidered on the stuff.

[78] *Ibid.*, I, 310 and 363. The latter mentioned a shirt (ḳamīṣ) of this material.

[79] Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, III, I, 188.

[80] *Ibid.*, II, III, 1635–36.

[81] *Ibid.*, III, II, 949.

[82] Tha'ālibī, *Syntagma dictorum brevium et acutorum*, ed. J. P. Valeton (Leyden, 1844), p. 34.

[83] Al-Washshā', *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[84] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

[85] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

[86] *Ibid.*, 481. Cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 268. Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-*

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Ḳāyin, the capital of the province, is scantily documented. Maḳdisī [87] merely remarked that much cloth (bazz) is brought from it. Yāḳūt [88] said: "Much cloth (bazz) is brought to it and it is the trading center of Khurasan, and the treasury (khizāna—or store) of Kerman." Mustawfī [89] remarked on its production of saffron.

Tūn, according to Maḳdīsi,[90] had many weavers (ḥāka) and workers in wool (ṣunnā' al-ṣūf)." Nāṣir-i-Khusraw [91] said: "In this town there were four hundred factories (kārgāh) which wove zīlū."

Ibn Baṭūṭa,[92] talking of Djām (the modern Shaikh Djām), said: "Most of its trees are mulberry trees and there is much silk there." In the time of Maḳdisī,[93] Zūzan "had many weavers and makers of felts (lubūd)." Khawār, said Ḳazwīnī,[94] produced much cotton which was taken to other lands.

The *Ḥudūd* [95] gives a list of places producing muslin (kirbās), some of which are identifiable, others of which are not to be found on the map (372 H. [982 A.D.]): Kurī, Khāymand, Salūmidh, Herat, Būzagān, Sandjān, and Zūzan.

For the record of Īl-Khānid times, one must again turn to Mustawfī: "Turshīz, Tūn, Zīrkūh, and Djunābād produce silk; Zāva, silk and cotton; Khwāf, silk and madder; and Ṭabas Gīlakī, cotton." [96]

Abu 'l-Fidā' [97] quoting the *Lubāb*,[98] said of Ṭabasain: "They export a celebrated silk (ḥarīr) under the name of Ṭabas silk." [99]

Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn (Cairo, 1332 H. [1913–4 A.D.]), I, 79, quotes a verse of Abū Nuwās mentioning ḳūhīya. The Egyptian editor who found difficulty in explaining the text, noted that ḳūhī is white cloth.

[87] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

[88] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 23.

[89] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

[90] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

[91] Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *op. cit.*, text, p. 95, trans., p. 259.

[92] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, III, 75.

[93] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 321, n.

[94] Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, II, 243.

[95] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 103.

[96] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–43, 152.

[97] *Géographie d' Aboulféda*, text, p. 449, trans., II, 189.

[98] There are two towns called Ṭabas in Kuhistan sometimes known collectively as Ṭabasain.

[99] Hamadhānī, *Maḳāmāt* (Beirut, 1924), p. 189, in the fourth century, wrote of stuff called Ḳūhī mumaṣṣar which, he said, meant Ḳūhī cloth dyed with reddish-yellow clay. See *Naḳā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdaḳ*, ed. A. A. Bevan (Leyden, 1905–12), II, 546.

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CHAPTER X

TRANSOXIANA

IN BOKHARA, THE CAPITAL OF SUGHD, THE ANCIENT SOGDIANA, AND ONE OF THE MOST EASTerly provinces of the Caliphate (Map 3), there seems to have been a ṭirāz factory in the Abbasid period. It is tempting to think that the Muslims merely took over the previously existing scheme of taxation in kind, consisting in this case of cloth, as they did in Ṭabaristān and elsewhere. Balādhurī [1] mentioned that Transoxiana sent a tribute to the early Arabs which included silk (ḥarīr) and garments(thiyāb), and this would probably be the same tax that went to the Sasanians. Various textiles also figure in the presents which the last independent kings of Bokhara sent to the Chinese,[2] and it must be kept in mind that the province was always open to influences from that quarter, though the Sasanians in their turn exerted a strong influence on Chinese wares.

Concerning the province in general, Iṣṭakhrī said: "As regards clothing (malbūs), there are to be found cotton garments which are so esteemed as to be exported thence to all lands. They have furs (firā'), wool (ṣūf), and fur (wabar)."[3] Ibn Ḥawḳal [4] repeated that "they have wool, ḳazz silk, and fine materials (ṭarā'if) of muslin (kirbās), and cloth (bazz)." Yāḳūt differed but little: "As regards clothing, there are unequaled cotton garments which are exported to all regions. They have ḳazz silk, wool, and fur in abundance, as well as ibrīsm silk of Khudjand, there being no better ibrīsm to be found."[5] He also mentioned furs of various kinds.

It was not, however, until Abū Muslim sent Ziyād ibn Ṣāliḥ to quell the revolt against the Abbasides that Transoxiana came thoroughly under Muslim control. Though they may have established the ṭirāz there previously, the most likely date for its institution is the period of Ma'mūn's residence at Merv; the earliest, and so far as I know, the only account of the factory is to be found in Narshakhī's *Ta'rīkh-i-Bukhārā*, written in 332 H. (943–44 A.D.) for his Samanid patron, the author then being forty-six years of age:

> An account of the ṭirāz factory (bait al-ṭirāz) which was in Bokhara and which is still standing.
>
> Now, in Bokhara, there was a factory (kārgāh) between the citadel and the Shahristān (which Barthold says was the original town),[6] near the Friday mosque, where they used to weave carpets (bisāṭ), tapestry (shādurvān), Yazdī (cloth), cushions (bālish), prayer carpets (muṣallā), striped Funduḳī (either "of a nut color" or "inn, hotel") cloaks (burd). They used to weave for the caliph, for the kharādj tax of Bokhara was spent on large carpets (shādurvān). Every year an overseer

[1] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 408, trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), p. 167.

[2] See Appendix III.

[3] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum . . . .*, ed. M. J. Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (= B.G.A.) (Leyden, 1870), I, 288.

[4] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna . . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1873), II, 336.

[5] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), IV, 401.

[6] W. Barthold, *Turkistán at the Time of the Mongolian Invasion*, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1927), n.s. V, 36.

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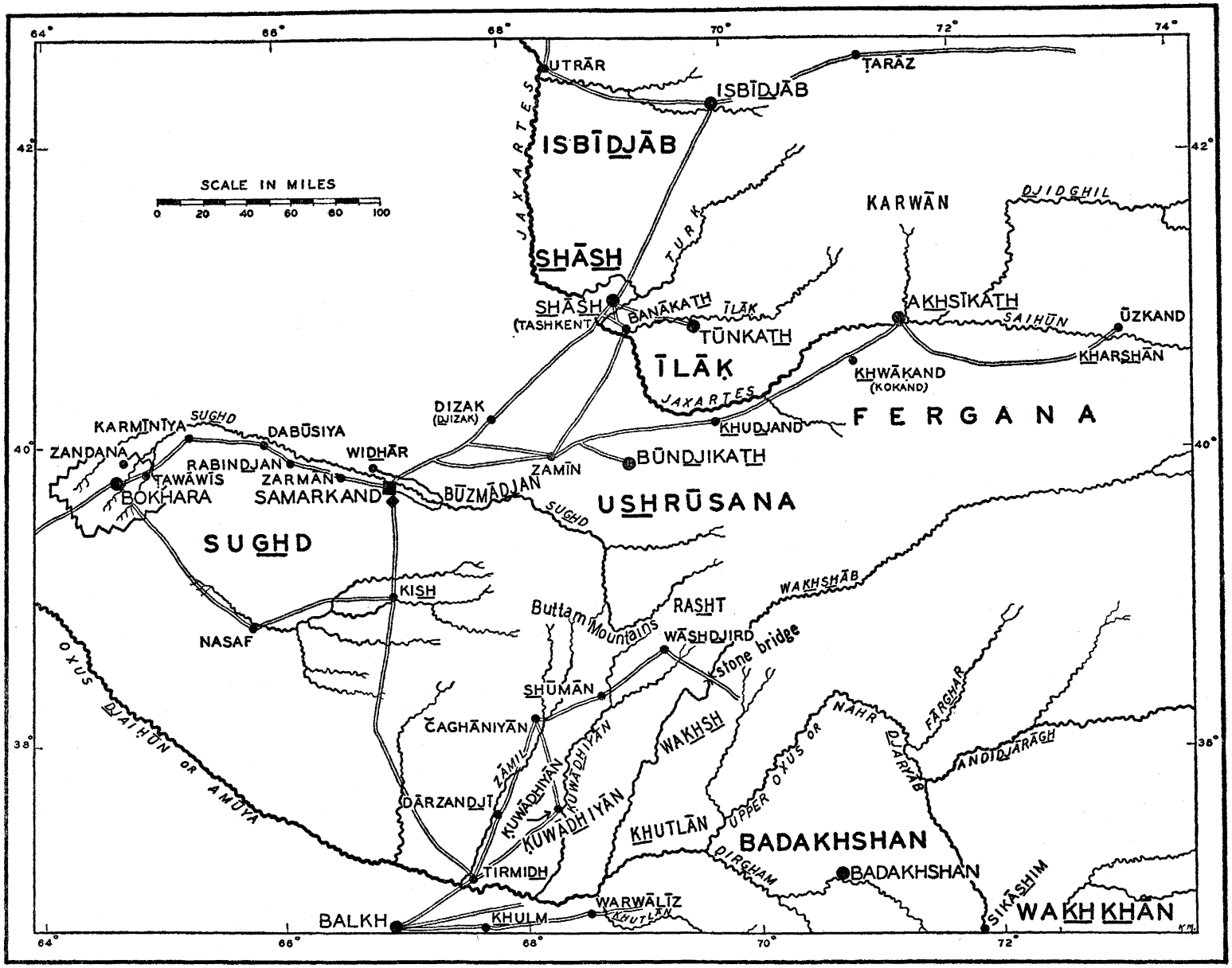

MAP 3—TRANSOXIANA

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('āmil) used to come from Baghdad specially, and he used to take the equivalent of the tax of Bokhara in this cloth (djāma).

Nowadays it so happens that this factory has become dismantled and the men who used to exercise that craft have been scattered. In Bokhara there used to be master craftsmen specially noted for this craft. Merchants used to come from the provinces and, just as people take away zandanīdjī, they used to take those garments to Syria, Egypt, and the cities of Byzantium (Rūm). They did not weave them in any other city in Khurasan. The surprising thing is that some of the men who practiced this craft went to Khurasan and made the tools necessary for this manufacture and wove those garments, but they did not attain the former luster or splendor (āb ū rawnaḳ). There was no monarch, emir, or commander who did not possess such robes. There were red, white, and green varieties, but today zandanīdjī is better known than these garments in all the provinces.[7]

It is interesting to note how this indirect control of the factory differs from the system obtaining in Egypt, and perhaps in other factories in Persia. Some of the stuffs may have been made on commission, as in Egypt. Narshakhī gave no indication as to how and why the ṭirāz industry declined. It may have disappeared with the fall of the Ṭāhirids in 259 H. (873 A.D.), but it probably continued under Saffarid rule, and Minorsky suggested that this account of its ruined state may be the addition of the Persian translator of the Samanid period. The indirect control suggests Sasanid methods.

The Samanid dynasty seems to have favored these zandanīdjī cloths of which Narshakhī said, speaking of Zandana, one of the villages of Bokhara:

That which comes from it is called zandanīdjī, which is to say muslin (kirbās) from the village of Zandana, which is both good and plentiful, but many of the villages of Bokhara weave better cloth, and they call it zandanīdjī because it first made its appearance in that town. This cloth is exported to all the provinces such as Iraq, Fars, Kerman, and Hindustan. All the nobles and kings make robes (djāma) of it and buy its brocade at a high price.[8]

The popularity of this garment may have been partly due to the fact that it was a uniform for the Samanid soldiers of the household. Niẓām al-Mulk[9] remarked (485 H. [1092–93 A.D.]) that the Samanids used to clothe the newly bought slave in zandanīdjī. The second year he got a horse with a snaffle, headstall, and bridle. In the third year he received a special belt (ḳarāčūr). In the fifth year he got a better saddle and bridle ornamented with stars (bi-kawkab), a tunic of silk stuff of various colors (ḳabā-yi-dārā'ī[10]), and a mace (dabbūs), which he hung from a ring at his saddle bow; in the sixth year, a parade dress (djāma-'unvān); and in the seventh he became a Withāḳ-bāshī, when he was given a Grandja

[7] Narshakhī, *Ta'rīkh-i-Bukhārā, Description topographique et historique de Boukhara,* ed. C. Schefer, Publications de l' école des langues orientales vivantes (=P.E.L.O.V.) (Paris, 1892), III, XIII, 18. I have since found a translation of this passage by Minorsky in the *Bull. School of Oriental and African Studies* (London, 1938), IV, III, 627.

[8] Narshakhī, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[9] C. Schefer, *Siasset Namèh, Traité de gouvernement* . . . . par le Vizir Nizam oul-Moulk (P.E.L.O.V.) (Paris, 1891–93), text, p. 95, trans, pp. 139–40.

[10] See J. A. Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum Etymologicum* (Bonn, 1855–67): "Genus panni serici diversi coloris, genus panni serici quod undulatum dicitur."

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robe (ḳabā) and a black felt hat embroidered with silver (kulāh-i-namad-i-siyāh-i-sīm-kashīda).

This cloth was also exported to Central Asia, for Djuwainī [11] described the cloth with which the merchants tried to defraud Genghiz Khan as being "gold-embroidered garments (thiyāb mudhahhab), muslin (kirbās), and zandapīčī." This variant of the name is also given by Vullers who described it as a wide robe of white cotton, very coarsely woven and quilted. Bokhara prospered greatly under the Samanids, but in the Mongol invasions it was almost entirely destroyed.

Other information is supplied by the geographers. Iṣṭakhrī [12] reported that "from Bokhara and its environs are brought cotton garments which are taken to all countries, as also carpets (busuṭ), prayer carpets (muṣallayāt), and choice woolen garments." Ibn Ḥawḳal [13] said: "Most of their dress consists of cloaks (ḳabā') and hats (ḳalansuwa) like the dress of Transoxiana." He noted the cloth markets there, and added: "There are brought from Bokhara and its environs garments known as Bukhārī which are taken to Iraq, and other countries; such also is the case with carpets (busuṭ), and garments of wool (ṣūf)." The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* [14] merely mentions woolen goods and saltpeter, but Maḳdisī [15] was better informed: "There are brought from Bokhara soft garments, prayer carpets (muṣallayāt), carpets (busuṭ), and cloth of Funduḳī carpeting (farsh) . . . . Ṭabarī cloth. Girths (ḥazm al-khail) are woven in the prisons (maḥābis), and Ashmūnī garments (of the type made in Ashmūnain in Egypt ?)."

Yāḳūt [16] was also acquainted with the Zandana cloth, for he said: "There are named after it the Zandandjī garments with the addition of the letter djīm. They are well known." The earlier western writer Idrīsī, however, did not know them. Another village which manufactured these stuffs was Iskadjkat, the people of which were merchants, and from which muslin (kirbās) came, according to Narshakhī [17] who further remarked: "In olden times there used to be a bazaar in the season of Tīrmāh for secondhand cloth, such as curtains (parda) and hangings (sutūr), or cloth with some defect, and all kinds of secondhand goods at Bokhara, where merchants came from Fergana, Djādj, and other places, and used to buy it."

[11] *Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān-gushā of Juwaynī*, Persian text, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad (London, 1913–37), Gibb Mem. Ser., XVI, I, 59. Cf. E. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus* (Oxford, 1932), for a similar passage. Khākānī (*Dīwān*, Teheran, 1316–17 H. [1899–1900 A.D.], p. 144), writing between 500 H. (1106 A.D.) and 595 H. (1200 A.D.), mentioned zandapīčī (ref. from M. Minovi). See also V. Minorsky, "Some Early Documents in Persian," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, II (1943), 94 where a ḳabā of zandanidjī at Bāmiyān is mentioned in 607 H. (1211 A.D.).

[12] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

[13] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

[14] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 112.

[15] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 324.

[16] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 952.

[17] Narshakhī, *op. cit.*, p. 31 ff.

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The largest of the villages in the Bokhara area was Ṭawāwīs, of which Iṣṭakhrī [18] said: "There are brought from it cotton garments which are taken to all places." Ibn Ḥawḳal [19] added: "It has a market and a great time of reunion when people from all quarters of Khurasan go to it at a certain time of the year, and from it are brought garments of cotton, which on account of their abundance are taken to Iraq." Idrīsī [20] repeated this account, but Abu'l-Fidā' [21] stated that the city was ruined in his time, probably by the Mongol invaders.

Proceeding along the Sughd river to Samarkand we come to Karmīnīya to which Maḳdisī [22] ascribed kerchiefs (mandīl). Then comes Dabūsiya, of which he [23] said: "From Dabūsiya and Widhār come Widhārī garments of one color (muṣmat), and I have heard a sultan in Baghdad call them the brocade of Khurasan." Of Rabindjan he said: "From Rabindjan come izārs of red felt (lubūd) for winter, prayer carpets (muṣallayāt), and rope (marīr) of hemp (ḳunnab)." [24]

The great city of Samarkand has numerous notices devoted to it from which we can build a fairly complete history until the Mongol invasion, and even after that. Ibn al-Faḳīh [25] mentioned its Samarḳandī garments, and Iṣṭakhrī [26] reported that "Samarkand is a meeting place of merchants and the emporium of Transoxiana. Most of the supplies of Transoxiana come to Samarkand and are then distributed to the provinces." Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi,[27] the Spanish author, also mentioned the Samarḳandī garments, and Benjamin of Tudela [28] talked of Jews in Samarkand.

Maḳdisī gave the following list:

There are brought from Samarkand silver-colored garments (thiyāb sīmkūn), Samarḳandī (stuff), ... and tents (akhbiya) . . . . From Samarkand too come brocade, which is carried to the Turks, and red garments called mumardjal, and Sīnīzī, as well as much ḳazz silk and garments of that material.[29]

The *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* [30] said: "Among the special products of Samarkand are the Widhārī garments." These are obviously derived from the village of Widhār, and Idrīsī gave a long account of them, so that they were known in the West, by repute, at least:

They make there (in Widhār) stuffs called Widhārī, woven of cotton on cotton, and made with

[18] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

[19] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

[20] Idrīsī, *Géographie*, trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), II, 195. Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leyden, 1851–76), XII, 199, mentions a Bukhārī shirt (ḳamīṣ) about the year 611 H. (1214 A.D.).

[21] *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, trans. by M. Reinaud (Paris, 1845–83), II, 217.

[22] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 255.

[26] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

[27] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 268.

[28] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), trans. p. 59.

[29] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 325. Mardjil is a kind of striped Yemen stuff, and this may be what is intended by the term mumardjal here. See Chap. XV.

[30] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 126. Cf. Tha'ālibī's *Thimār al-Ḳulūb*, (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 432, which has the reading Wizārīya.

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an astonishing art; they are employed raw and without being cut. There is not a prince, minister, or cadi in the whole of Khurasan who does not wear one in winter over his clothes. The beauty of these stuffs is evident and their splendor is famous. They are of a color approaching yellow saffron, soft and light to the touch, but nevertheless very thick, excellent in their wearing qualities, and durable. The price of a robe varies from three to twenty dinars according to the quality. In short, it is impossible to find anything better, whether as regards beauty, whether as regards solidity.[31]

Yāḳūt [32] said that the town in which Widhārī garments were made was six miles from Samarkand.

Vámbéry [33] noted that Samarkand silk and cotton weavers were distributed by Ghenghiz Khan among his relations as useful servants, or else taken to Khurasan. The conquest completely changed local conditions and led to a great infiltration of Chinese craftsmen. This has been remarked by a certain Ch'ang Ch'un [34] who said that they are to be found everywhere at Samarkand. They seem to have been mainly agriculturists. The people were quite unable to manage their fields and orchards for themselves and were obliged to call in Chinese, Kitai, and Tanguts. He recorded also a drop in population after the defeat of the Khwārizmshāh, from one hundred thousand households (say over a half million people) to a quarter of that number in Samarkand. This was doubtless due to the Mongol massacres and deportations which denuded the country of labor. Some of these workmen may have been cloth workers, for he [35] spoke of a place Chieu-chieu-chau (Rashīd al-Dīn's Kem-kemdjiyuta) in the southeast Kirkhiz country where Chinese workmen were settled and wove "fine silks, gauze, brocade, and damask."

Of Dizak (Djizak) in the same group, Maḳdisī [36] said: "From Dizak excellent felts and cloaks (ḳabā') of felt are brought."

In the neighborhood of Balkh (properly in Khurasan) there was another group of cloth-manufacturing cities, briefly noted by the geographers.

Čagāniyān, according to the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* [37] produces "woolen cloths, palas rugs, and much saffron."

Tirmidh [38] "produces green matting (būriyā) and fans (bādh-bizan)."

Dārzandjī [39] "produces puttees (pāy-tāba), different sorts of tapestry-woven carpets (gilīmīna), and woolen carpets (bisāṭ-i-pashmīn)." Maḳdisī [40] found that most of its inhabitants were workers in wool (ṣuwwāf), manufacturing robes (aksiya).

Ḳuwādhiyān. Iṣṭakhrī [41] said: "From al-Ḳuwādhiyān comes madder (fuwwa)."

[31] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, II, 201. I read Widhār here for Jaubert's Wabdhār. The text here is suspect.
[32] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 944.
[33] A. Vámbéry, *History of Bukhara* (London, 1873), p. 132.
[34] Li Chih Ch'ang, *Travels of an Alchemist,* trans. by A. Waley (London, 1931), p. 93.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 124.
[36] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 325.
[37] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 114.
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
[41] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

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Idrīsī [42] added: "From Ḳuwādhiyān they bring to Wāshdjird much cotton and madder (?) with which they make the red color which is largely exported to India. The sultan puts a tax on these various productions."

Shūmān and Wāshdjird were also famous for their saffron, according to Idrīsī.[43]

Khutlān was noted by Mustawfī [44] as producing cotton.

In the north of Transoxiana, there was yet another group, the largest city of which was Shāsh (Tashkent). Maḳdisī [45] found that "tents (akhbiya), saddles of shagreen (kīmukht) of value, izārs . . . . prayer carpets (muṣallayāt), capes ornamented at the neck (banīḳāt [46]) . . . . and cotton which is taken to the Turks."

From Banākath, said Maḳdisī,[47] come garments of Turkestan. He [48] again noted that Isbīdjāb has a muslin market (Sūḳ al-Karābīs), and from there and from Fergana, Turkish slaves and white garments were exported. This cloth trade seems to have been established early, for Abu 'l-Ḳāsim [49] of Baghdad talked with familiarity of Kharshānī carpets (ṭinfisa) from the district watered by the Kharshān tributary of the Saiḥūn.

From Sikāshim, says the *Ḥūdūd al-'Ālam,*[50] "come covers for saddle cloths (rūy-i-namad-zīn).[51]

[42] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 482. The word madder has been inserted by analogy with other texts to fill the lacuna in the translation.

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb,* trans. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 153.

[45] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

[46] See *Indices, Glossarium et Addenda . . . .*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1879), IV. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927), and *idem, Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), contain further references to various sources including Maḳḳarī.

[47] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 272 and 325.

[49] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim,* ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 36. For Kharshān see the index to G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1930).

[50] *Ḥudūd al-Ālam,* p. 121. See the map, pp. 338–39. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Annales,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), III, III, 1689; also 'Umarī, "Masālik al-Abṣār, Notice de l'ouvrage . . . . Mesalek alabsar fi memalek alamsar," *Acad. des inscriptions et belles-lettres, notices et extraits* (1836), III, I, 239.

[51] ADDITIONAL NOTE.—Ghenghiz Khan settled Arab and Chinese craftsmen at Karakorum (Bar Hebraeus, *op. cit.*, I, 298).

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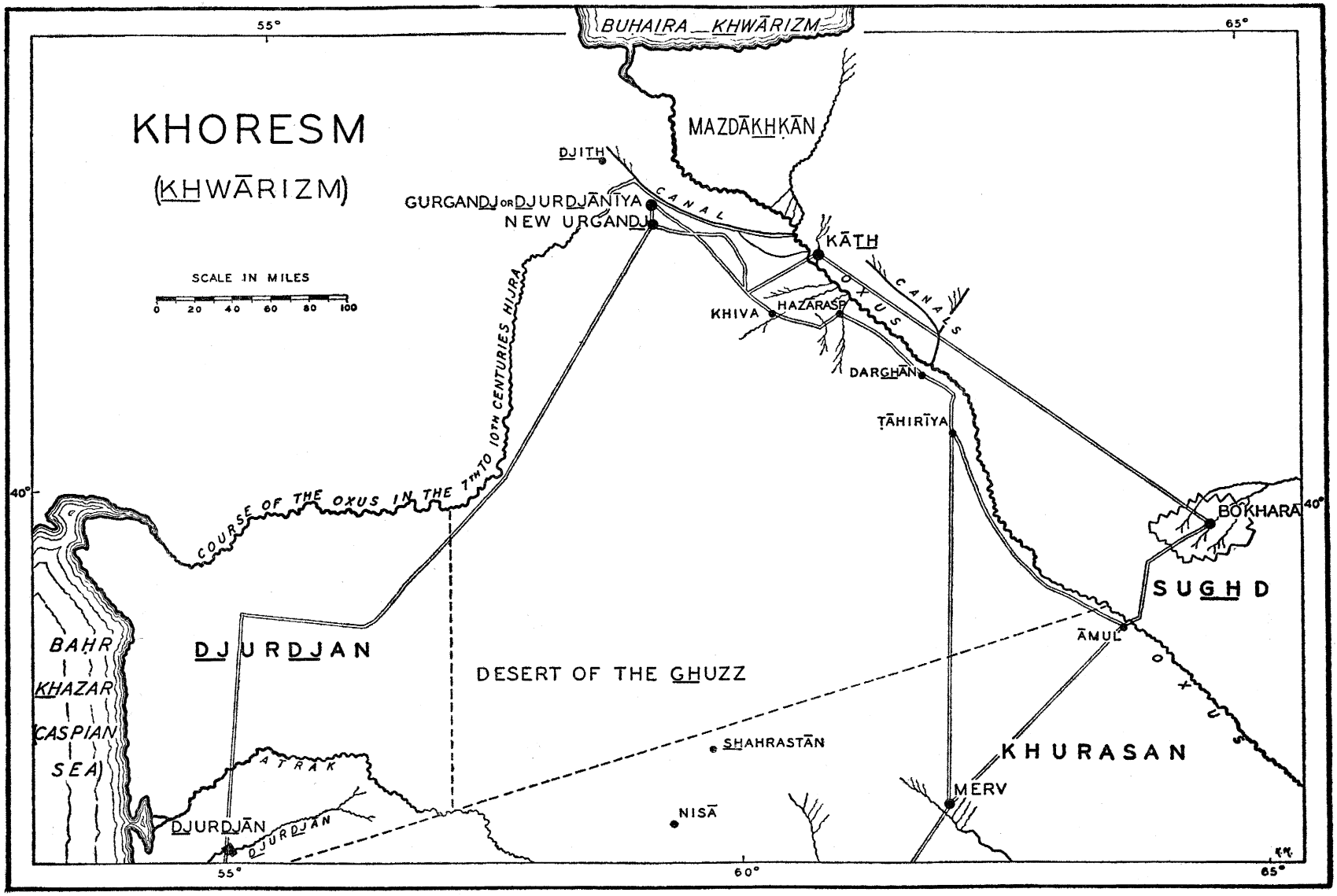

MAP 4—KHORESM (KHWĀRIZM)

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CHAPTER XI

KHORESM (KHWĀRIZM)

A GENERAL DESCRIPTION[1] OF THE PRODUCTS OF THE COUNTRY OF KHORESM IS GIVEN IN Maḳdisī:

From Khoresm come sable skins (sammūr), squirrel fur (sindjāb), weasel skins (ḳḳūn), desert fox furs (fanak), weasel furs (dalah), fox furs (tha'lab), beaver skins (khazbūst), and goat skin (buzbūst) . . . . and ḳalansuwa caps and shagreen (kīmukht) . . . . all the above from Bulghār. From Khoresm are brought striped cloaks (burūd), carpets (fursh), cloth for blankets (thiyāb al-luḥuf), brocade for presents (dībādj bīshkash), veils of cloth with a warp of silk and a woof of some other material (maḳāni' mulḥam) . . . . and garments of Arandj (colored stuff).[2]

Idrīsī[3] said: "From this country cotton and linen stuffs and various articles of merchandise for export are derived." He, too, mentioned its furs. According to Yāḳūt: "It has many trees. Most of all there are the mulberry (tūt) and the willow (khilāf), because of their need for them in their buildings and for feeding the silkworm (dūd al-ibrīsm)."[4]

The Arab geographers generally called the capital, Kāth, after the name of the province, and thereby some confusion arises. Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal referred to the town: "From it comes a large supply of garments of cotton and wool which are taken to all regions,"[5] and "their dress consists of tunics (ḳurṭaḳ)."[6] Ibn Ḥawḳal[7] called them "twisted ḳalansuwa caps" and commended their beauty.

According to the *Ḥudūd:* "Kāth is a resort of merchants. . . . It produces covers for cushions (rūy-i-mikhadda), quilted garments (ḳazāgand), cotton stuffs (karbās), felt."[8]

The *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,*[9] however, is probably referring to Urgandj in the passage which will be quoted below, because it was toward the end of the fourth (tenth) century that Kāth was supplanted by Urgandj as the capital city of Khoresm: "The muslins (kirbās) called Arandj are among its specialties. They say that the Amīrī kind of them does not fall short of the ḥaffī of Nishapur, the munaiyar of Rayy, the poppy-colored kind (khāshkhāshī) of Djurdjān, and the Dabīḳī of Egypt." It notes that the merchandise and the special products of Khoresm are similar to those of Turkish lands.

There was an emir of Gurgandj who succeeded in conquering south Khoresm in the year

[1] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 325.

[2] See *Indices, Glossarium et Addenda . . . .*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1879), IV; also see Djawālīḳī, *Kitāb al-Mu'arrab,* ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1867), p. 156 where Arandadj is a black skin.

[3] Idrīsī, *Géographie,* trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), II, 91.

[4] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 482.

[5] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum . . . .*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 304.

[6] See R. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845).

[7] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna . . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemica,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1873), II, 354.

[8] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 121.

[9] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 129.

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385 H. (995 A.D.) and who arrogated the title of Khwārizmshāh to himself. It seems likely that these Amīrī garments mean ṭirāz-inscribed garments containing the title "amīr," and the factory would be in Urgandj because it was in that same year that the emir destroyed Kāth. Previously this northern part of the province with its capital Urgandj had been separate from the kingdom of the Khwārizmshāhs.

South of Kāth was Hazārasp, and Yāḳūt[10] wrote that "in it are many markets and cloth merchants (bazzāzūn)."

[10] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 971.

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CHAPTER XII

KERMAN AND SEISTAN

ALTHOUGH NOT THE CAPITAL OF THE PROVINCE, BAM IN KERMAN WAS THE CHIEF MANUfacturing center, and at one time possessed a ṭirāz factory. Ibn Khaldūn[1] stated that five hundred pieces of Yemen stuff were sent with the tribute from the province of Kerman (Map 5).

Iṣṭakhrī was very brief indeed: "From Bam garments of cotton, which are taken to all districts, are exported."[2] Ibn Ḥawḳal, however, was far more informative:

Bam is larger than Djīruft, and splendid robes of great value and durability are made there from the cotton, and taken to many quarters of the earth. Among its choice articles which are made there are the ṭailasāns which are made with hollows (ṭayālisa muḳawwara, i.e., possibly with some kind of raised pile or embroidery which gave the appearances of hollows?), woven into festoons (rafraf), and a single one of which, when of fine sharb linen fetches thirty dinars, more or less when sold in Iraq, Miṣr, and Khurasan. They have also famous turbans ('imāma) which are much sought after by the people of Iraq, Miṣr, and Khurasan. Their garments have a lastingness like the cloths of Aden and Sana, the least of which lasts from five to twenty years. Their robes are the kind that kings store and acquire. They had a ṭirāz factory of the sultan, but it perished when he did.[3]

Presumably, the Buwaihid Sultan Rukn al-Dawla is intended here, or else his father, but owing to the disturbed state of the country at that time it is impossible to be certain. The origin of the ṭirāz factory was probably before the time of Ma'mūn, if we assume that the Yemen stuffs were made in a ṭirāz factory.

A list of products is given in the *Ḥudūd,*[4] which notes that "from it come cotton stuffs ('imāma), Bam turbans (or kerchiefs, dastār-i-bamī)." Maḳdisī[5] found that the Bammī manufactures were not confined to Bam alone: "In Awārik and Mihrakird are made many garments after the Bammī manufacture which are exported as they are. Bam has many skilled and dexterous craftsmen and famous markets, the cloth of which is sought everywhere . . . . most of them are weavers. . . . Most of the garments which are manufactured are made in Djabal Kūd (a parasang away from it). . . . From Bam are brought turbans and kerchiefs (mandīl), ṭailasāns, and precious garments preferred above all the Merv weaves."

Even Idrīsī in the West had heard of Bam manufactures:

Its inhabitants are engaged in trade and industry. They make here a quantity of beautiful cotton stuffs which are the object of considerable export, and mantles of goat hair which equal in

[1] Ibn Khaldūn, *Les Prolégomènes d'Ibn Khaldoun,* trans. by M. de Slane (Paris, 1863–68), I, 364.

[2] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum . . . .*, ed M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (= *B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1870), I, 167.

[3] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna . . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae,* ed M. J. de Goeje (*B.G.A.*), II, 223. The rendering of ṭayālisa muḳawwara is uncertain. The new edition of Ibn Ḥawḳal may resolve this difficulty.

[4] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 125.

[5] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 465, 466, 470.

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fineness the most beautiful it is possible to see. There are some, the price of which equals thirty dinars. Finally, they make, too, very fine stuffs for turbans. All these stuffs are of fine workmanship and solidity so that they do not wear out and only perish at the end of a very long lapse of time. Kings are proud to wear them, and consider them precious and keep them with care in their treasuries.[6]

Yāḳūt[7] quoted earlier sources such as the above.

Apart from one or two large towns, Kerman was never an industrial province, because it was largely desert, but it was celebrated for its commerce, lying straddled as it does across the land route to India. In the eastern quarter of the province, according to Maḳdisī[8] "there is made in Sīrdjān a great deal of this (Bammī) cloth." The Īl-Khānid author Mustawfī[9] talked of its cotton production. From Zarand, said Iṣṭakhri,[10] "famous linings (biṭāna) are brought which are taken to Fars and Iraq."

Kerman became the capital of the province in the fourth (tenth) century under the Buwaihids, and it is likely that the governor would have had a ṭirāz factory there. The only source for the manufactures there which I have been able to discover is Marco Polo:

> The ladies of that country and their daughters also produce exquisite needlework in the embroidery of silk stuffs in different colors, with figures of beasts and birds, trees, and flowers, and a variety of other patterns. They work hangings for the use of noblemen so deftly that they are a marvel to see, as well as cushions, pillows, quilts, and all sorts of things.[11]

Rather similar to this is the following passage from the early nineteenth-century traveler Buckingham:

> Printed cloths and handkerchiefs are manufactured also in great abundance, and carpets are wrought which are thought to be equal to any produced in the whole empire. These are chiefly the work of females of distinction; since to spin, to sew, and to embroider are the chief accomplishments of their education. These carpets are mostly made by the needle, with colored worsteds on a woven substance, in the way young ladies in England of the middle ranks work mats for tea urns. These, from their size and quality, sometimes cost fifty tumans, equal to as many pounds sterling each, though there are others at all prices below this. Others again of an inferior quality are altogether woven in colors and sold at a cheaper rate, these being the work of men. There are no large manufactories of either, however, as both are wrought in private dwellings and, when finished, brought into the bazaar for sale.[12]

Of textile manufactures at Djīruft we have no information, but Iṣṭakhrī, Idrīsī, and

[6] Idrīsī, *Géographie,* trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 423.

[7] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), I, 737.

[8] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 470.

[9] Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb,* trans. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 140.

[10] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.* p. 167. Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Géographie d' Aboulféda,* texte arabe .... ed. M. Reinaud et M. de Slane [Paris, 1840], p. 337; trans. M. Reinaud [Paris, 1847–83], II, 103), quoted Ibn Ḥawḳal to the same effect.

[11] H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian* (London, 1871), I, 92.

[12] J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia* (London, 1829), I, 193–94.

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Map 5—Kerman and Seistan

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Abu 'l-Fidā' [13] all wrote that it was the emporium of Khurasan and Seistan. The only exports from Kerman mentioned by Djāḥiẓ [14] are indigo and cumin, the former of which seems always to have been an important article of merchandise. Ibn Ḥawḳal [15] said: "From the territories of Maghūn and Walashdjird to the district of Hurmuz, indigo and cumin are planted and taken everywhere." Maḳdisī [16] too, said: "From the districts of Djīruft, much indigo (nīl) is brought." Idrīsī [17] also remarked on the indigo of Hurmuz.

SEISTAN

The semidesert country of Seistan (Sīstān, or Sidjistān) was never a cloth manufacturing center, nor even an important administrative center, except for a brief period under the Saffarid dynasty. It did, however, send three hundred pieces of stuff marked with circles (mu'aiyan) along with the tribute to Ma'mūn. Abū Dulaf [18] has left us one short sentence to show that the Saffarid dynasty had royal factories there, presumably at the capital Zarandj, for he does not mention any particular place. Abū Dulaf visited the ruler Khalaf ibn Ahmed, and noted: "He has in the country a ṭirāz factory in which garments are made. Every day he confers a robe of honor on one of his visitors, five thousand dirhams beings spent on it in the ṭirāz."

General descriptions of the products of this reign are given in the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* and by Tha'ālibī. The former [19] says: "The province produces stuffs used as carpets (djāmahā-yi-farsh) similar to those of Ṭabaristān, zīlū rugs similar to the Djahram kind." Tha'ālibī numbered among the specialties of the country "ceremonial drums" (al-tubūl al-mawkibīya), and the brocaded carpets (dabābīdj al-farsh).[20] Some of these must have been made in Zarandj. It is significant that the province had no characteristic fabric of its own, but showed a tendency to derive from Fars, Ṭabaristān, and almost certainly from India.

Bust was the second largest city in Seistan, and Iṣṭakhrī [21] said: "There is commerce in it with India and Sind." According to the *Ḥudūd:* "Bust is the gate of Hindustan, and the resort of merchants . . . . it produces cotton stuffs (karbās)." [22] The city was ultimately destroyed by Timur.

One march from Bust, in a direction unspecified, lay Zāliḳān, of which Iṣṭakhrī [23] said:

[13] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 166. Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 422. Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, trans., II, 103. The Seljuk histories edited by T. Houtsma might yield some chance information about ṭirāz factories in this province, but time has not permitted me to examine them.

[14] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 345.

[15] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

[16] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 470.

[17] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 424.

[18] Kurd de Schloezer, *Abu Dolaf Misaris ben Mohalhal de itinere suo asiatico* (Berlin, 1845), p. 28, an extract from Ḳazwīnī. He actually mentioned Abū Dja'far Muhammad b. Ahmed b. al-Laith who, said Brockelmann, is the same as Khalaf b. Ahmed taken prisoner by Mahmud of Ghazni in the year 1002–3 A.D. See the article "Mi'sar ibn Muhalhil" in *Encycl. Islam,* III, 519.—Abū Dulaf's journey has been republished from a new manuscript by Messrs. Brill of Leyden.

[19] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 110.

[20] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 124, repeated by al-Nuwairī *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–37), I, 366.

[21] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

[22] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 110.

[23] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 248. Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 363. Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

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"Most of the inhabitants are weavers." Ibn Ḥawḳal and Yāḳūt repeated this statement, and Idrīsī [24] remarked: "Most of its inhabitants are weavers and their principal commerce consists in stuffs which are sold and exported in considerable quantities."

Perhaps here the city of Kabul should be included. Ibn Ḥawḳal [25] said: "Indigo (nīl) is sold in Kabul every year, which is made in its gardens and cultivated land. . . . From Kabul beautiful garments of cotton are brought of which wrappers (sabnīya) are made, which go to China, and go forth to Khurasan and are distributed throughout Sind and its districts." This text must suffice to represent the fame of the indigo of Kabul, mentioned by many authors.

[24] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 446.

[25] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 328. Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 183.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE ṬIRĀZ IN INDIA

THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THE ABBASID ṬIRĀZ SYSTEM MAY EVEN HAVE EXTENDED TO INDIA, but I have found no other reference to any such institution before the Tughluḳid period. India really falls outside the scope of this work, but an appendix on Indian and Chinese influences will be found later in this survey.

The *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī [1] tells us that the Sultan Muhammad (who reigned from 720–52 H. [1320–51 A.D.]) decided, for various reasons of policy, to recognize the Abbasid caliphate. He paid allegiance to the representatives of the family who were in Egypt, in the year 744 H. (1343–44 A.D.), and in return he received a robe of honor (khil'a): "He ordered that on the ṭirāz inscription of gold-embroidered robes of value, they should inscribe the name of the caliph and nothing else (dar ṭirāz-i-djāmahā-yi-zarbaft-ū ḳīmatī)." A robe of honor which probably came from this Delhi ṭirāz factory is mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa; [2] it was presented by the king of India, Muhammad Shah, and was made "of blue silk embroidered with gold and spangled with jewels (khil'a al-ḥarīr al-azraḳ, muzarkasha bi 'l-dhahab wa muraṣṣa'a bi 'l-djawāhir)."

Ḳalḳashandī described the state factories of the Tughluḳid:

> Therein, of those who are master craftsmen, are the makers of swords, bows, spears, armor (zarad) and other kinds of weapons, jewelers (ṣuwwāgh), makers of embroideries (zarākisha), and masters of other crafts. . . . The Sultan of Delhi has a ṭirāz factory (dār al-ṭirāz) in which there are four thousand manufacturers of silk (ḳazzāz), making all kinds of textiles for robes of honor (khil'a), robes (kasāwā), and presents (iṭlāḳāt), besides the cloth of China, Iraq, and Alexandria which is brought there.[3]

The Tughluḳid dynasty was overthrown four years before Ḳalḳashandī's death; the intricate court organization of the Mogul period is well known and several accounts of its manufactures are available.

The passage from Ḳalḳashandī is founded on a much fuller account in the earlier *Masālik al-Abṣār* of 'Umarī.[4] The latter author is describing contemporary events. Speaking of the dress of the notables of Delhi, he said:

> The linen garments which are imported from Alexandria and the land of the Russians are worn only by those whom the sultan honors with them. The others wear tunics and robes of fine cotton. They make garments with this material which resemble the robes (maḳāṭi') of Baghdad. But these latter, as also those called Naṣāfī, differ very much from those of India as regards fineness, beauty of color, and delicacy.

[1] Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī,* ed. Saiyid Ahmed Khan (Calcutta, 1888–91), p. 493.

[2] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah,* ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), I, 362.

[3] Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), V, 83 and 84.

[4] 'Umarī, "Notice de l' ouvrage . . . . Mesalek alabsar fi memalek alamsar," *Acad. des inscriptions et belles-lettres, notices et extraits,* XIII (1838), 183. Cf. Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.,* V, 93.

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Again, he said: "No Indian but the Sultan and those whom he permits to do so may have gold-embroidered saddles. The rest usually have silver embroideries."[5] He also described the costume of the Indians,[6] and wrote that "most of their Tartar (Tatarī) robes are embroidered with gold (muzarkasha bi-dhahab). Some wear garments with both sleeves having a ṭirāz border of gold embroidery (zarkash).[7] Others, for example the Mongols, place the ṭirāz inscription between the shoulders.[8]

Besides the account of the robe, Ibn Baṭūṭa had an interesting anecdote:

In the year 743 H. (1342 A.D.) the king of China sent to the sultan of India at Delhi a present containing, among other things, five hundred pieces of kamkhā (Chinese silk), of which a hundred were of those made in the town of Thsiouen-tcheou-fou (Zaitūn), and of which another hundred were made in Hang-tcheou-fou (Khansā). There were, beside, five garments studded with jewels, and five gold-embroidered quivers (tarākish muzarkasha). In return the sultan sent five Bairamī garments, which are of cotton, each worth a hundred dinars, a hundred pieces of djuzz stuff which consists of silk, a single piece of which is dyed with five colors, a hundred pieces of stuff called Ṣalāḥī, and a hundred garments of Shīrīn-bāf, and a hundred of Shān-bāf, and five hundred of goat hair (mar'izz), of which a hundred were black, another white, another red, another green, and another blue. There were also a hundred pieces of Rūmī (Greek) linen (kattān).[9]

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 201.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 215. Cf. Ḳalḳashandī (*op. cit.*, V, 39), who said that the sultans, khans, and maliks wore "Tatar (garments)" (reading here تترّيات for the text's نترّيات), taklāwāt (?, described by Dozy as "genre de vêtement porté dans l'Inde et en Egypte par les émirs"), and Khwārizmian robes (ḳabā'), drawn in at the waist, and small turbans ('Imāma) a single turban not going beyond five or six yards (dhirā') (in length); their apparel being of white material (bayāḍ) and "drap (djūkh)."

[8] See N. A. Reath and E. B. Sachs, *Persian Textiles and Their Technique* (New Haven, 1937), Pl. 51.

[9] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, IV, 1 ff. For kamkhā see Chap. VI, n. 68 and elsewhere.

For further material on Indian cloth, see Dharam Pal, " 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's Price Control System," *Islamic Culture* (Haidarabad, 1944), XVIII, 1, should be seen. His material is based on Baranī.

At a later period than that covered by this inquiry, Indian textiles were evidently well known in Persia. The fifteenth-century author Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ḳārī of Yezd in his *Dīwān-i-Albisa* (Constantinople, 1303 H.), p. 17, said that from Asia Minor (Rūm), Cathay (Khiṭā), and the land of Hindustan, come marvelous textiles. He mentioned cloths from many countries and provinces at the market (*ibid.*, p. 152): "Some have traversed the road from Egypt such as diḳḳ (brocade, for which see Chap. I, n. 17, of this study, *Ars Islamica*, IX), Dabīḳī, spangled linen cloth (ḳaṣab), and Bunduḳī (described by the editor as a fine white cloth of which the Egyptians make shirts [pīrāhān]. Is this Venetian cloth?). Some had trodden the road from Hindustan, such as Shamsī (sun-cloth?), and sālū (a red cloth mixed with black, suitable for women's apparel and turbans) of Sāghar (a town in the Deccan?), and 'two-circle' cloth (? dū-chanbarī), and royal (Sulṭānī) Bairamī (an ibrīshm-silk cloth like miṯḳālī), and the two warp manufacture of the court (? dū tārah-yi-kar-i-bārgah-ī)."

In this list he mentioned also the women's headcloths (mi'djar) of Antioch, the chikan (cloth wrought with a needle in flowers and gold, or embroidery) of Aftakūn (?) from Asia Minor (Rūm), Crimean linen (kattān-i-Ḳirimī), Cyprus and Aleppo wool, Kamkhā of Cathay, the sālū-cloth of Kandahar, and other cloths. On p. 86 is a reference to the cloth of Egypt and Hindustan.

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CHAPTER XIV

SYRIAN TEXTILES

THOUGH SYRIA WAS A COUNTRY WITH SEVERAL VERY IMPORTANT MANUFACTURING CITIES (Map 6), there is a lack of documentation concerning them. The ports and inland cities of this province have always been great commercial centers; the *Ḥudūd* tells us: "Whatever is produced in the Maghrib, Egypt, Rūm (Byzantium), and Andalus, is brought there." [1] Maḳdisī [2] listed garments of cotton, mulḥam stuffs, and wrappers (fūṭa), as the articles of trade there.

The carpets (anmāṭ) of Antioch are known as early as al-Aṣma'ī,[3] who cited a verse of Zuhair of the pre-Islamic era, speaking of a stuff called Anṭākīya of a red color. At a much earlier date (260 A.D.), Shāpūr transported some of its inhabitants to Djundīshāpūr, while, in the year 42 H. (662 A.D.) Balādhurī [4] noted that Mu'āwiya transplanted some Persians to Antioch and others from Baalbek, Ḥimṣ, Basra, and Kufa.

Idrīsī stated: "In Antioch excellent garments of a single color (thiyāb muṣmata), 'Attābī, and Dastuwā'ī (of the type manufactured in Dastuwā in Djibāl), and Iṣfahānī (from Isfahan), and the like,[5] are made." [6]

The sister city of Aleppo is better documented than Antioch. Maḳdisī [7] only mentioned its garments and its cotton, but Maḳrīzī, quoting an earlier source for the Fatimid period and discussing the tents in their treasuries, said:

> There was brought out the large tent (fusṭāṭ) known as al-mudawwara al-kabīra ("the Large Round One"), with the manufacture of which, at Aleppo, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ali ibn Ahmed, known as Ibn al-Aysar ("the left-handed") had been entrusted some time after the year 440 H. (1048 A.D.). Thirty thousand dinars had been spent upon its cloth (khirḳa), decoration (naḳsh, probably such as embroidery), fabrication, and appurtenances.[8]

This might imply that there was a Fatimid ṭirāz factory in Aleppo, though Ibn al-Aysar may have been a private individual, not a state employee.

[1] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s. XI, 148.

[2] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 180.

[3] al-Tabrīzī, "A Commentary on Ten Ancient Arabic Poems," ed. C. J. Lyall, *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1891–94), p. 55. Al-Aṣma'ī lived from 112 H. (740 A.D.) to 213 H. (828 A.D.) and is a reliable philologist. See "al-Aṣma'ī," *Encyl. Islam,* I.

[4] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 148, trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), I, 228.

[5] J. Gildemeister, *Idrīsī, Palaestina et Syria* (Bonn, 1885), p. 23. For "Dastuwā'ī," perhaps the reading "Tustarī" would be better. See Chap. VIII, n. 36.

[6] There is an account of Antioch from Ibn al-Shiḥna in *Denkschr. d. Wiener Akad. d. Wissensch.,* 1852, Abt. 2, 21, but it gives no information about textiles. A. v. Kremer, "Beiträge zur Geographie des Nördlichen Syriens (nach Ibn Schihne's: Dorr-el-Montacheb fī Tārīch Haleb)," *Denkschr. d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. Phil.-Hist. Classe,* III (Wien, 1852), Abt. II, 21.

[7] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 181.

[8] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Bulaq, 1270 H. [1853 A.D.]), I, 419, line 30.

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Yāḳūt [9] has preserved part of the journey of Ibn Buṭlān, who traveled through this part of the world about the same date. This traveler remarked: "One of the marvels of Aleppo is that, in the cloth market (Ḳaiṣarīya-al-Bazz), there are twenty shops owned by agents in which, each day, they sell goods to the value of twenty thousand dinars. That has continued for twenty years and up to this very day."

In the year 515 H. (1116–17 A.D.), Maḳrīzī [10] said that the new vizier, Ma'mūn of Egypt, remitted, among other taxes, "three garments of Aleppo."

A list of taxes on the city is given by Ibn al-Shiḥna for the year 609 H. (1212–13 A.D.), which includes the following among many other items of all kinds: the tax on dyeing factories, 80,000 dirhams; the tax on indigo (reading doubtful) 20,000 dirhams; the tax on silk, 80,000 dirhams.

He added:

> One of the specialties of the town is also the traffic in imported merchandise, silk, linen, Yazdī (cloth), Persian stuffs, furs, (martens, washḳ, fanak, squirrel, fox, etc.), Indian merchandise, Circassian, Turkish, and Byzantine articles of luxury. Sales of a single day at Aleppo are often greater than those of a month in other cities. . . . Ten loads of silk, for instance, brought to Aleppo, are sold that very day for ready money, whereas ten loads taken to Cairo, though the largest of cities, are not sold there till the end of the month.[11]

He mentioned a khan of the goat hair sellers inside the walls.[11a] Bidlīsī [12] said: "Aleppo is so much a trading city that it is called Kūčūk Hind ('Little India')." [13]

To the southwest of Aleppo was A'zāz of which one manuscript of Abu 'l-Fidā' mentions: "In particular, cotton is cultivated there, which is then laden in ships and taken to Ceuta whence it is distributed throughout the west." [14]

Concerning al-Bāb, between Aleppo and Manbidj, Yāḳūt said: "It possesses markets in which muslin (kirbās) is made that is taken to Egypt (Miṣr) and Damascus and called after it." [15] Of the town of Ḥaffa, he said: "It is said that the Ḥaffī garments are named after it, but all I know is that ḥaff is an instrument used by weavers with which these garments are made, but it is not used in all garments." [16] This explanation of the name is probably correct, and it seems unlikely that these garments derived their name from this obscure village.

According to Balādhurī,[17] Hishām founded Ruṣāfa in Syria (105 H. [723–24 A.D.]),

[9] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 307–8.

[10] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ, Description topographique et historique de l' Egypte,* trans. by U. Bouriant and P. Casanova (Paris, 1900–20), pp. 239–40.

[11] *Les Perles choisies d' Ibn ach-Chinna,* trans. by J. Sauvaget, (Beyrouth, 1933), pp. 163 and 199.

[11a] *Ibid.*

[12] Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *Scheref Nameh ou Fastes de la nation Kourde,* trans. by F. Charmoy (St. Petersburg, 1868–75), I, 266.

[13] For its cotton see P. Belon, *Les Observations de plusieurs singularitez* (Paris, 1588), fol. 57.

[14] Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān,* ed. T. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 231, trans. by T. Reinaud, II, 10.

[15] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* I, 437.

[16] *Ibid.,* II, 296. See Chap. IX, n. 35, and Chap. V, n. 55.

[17] Balādhurī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 180, trans., I, 280.

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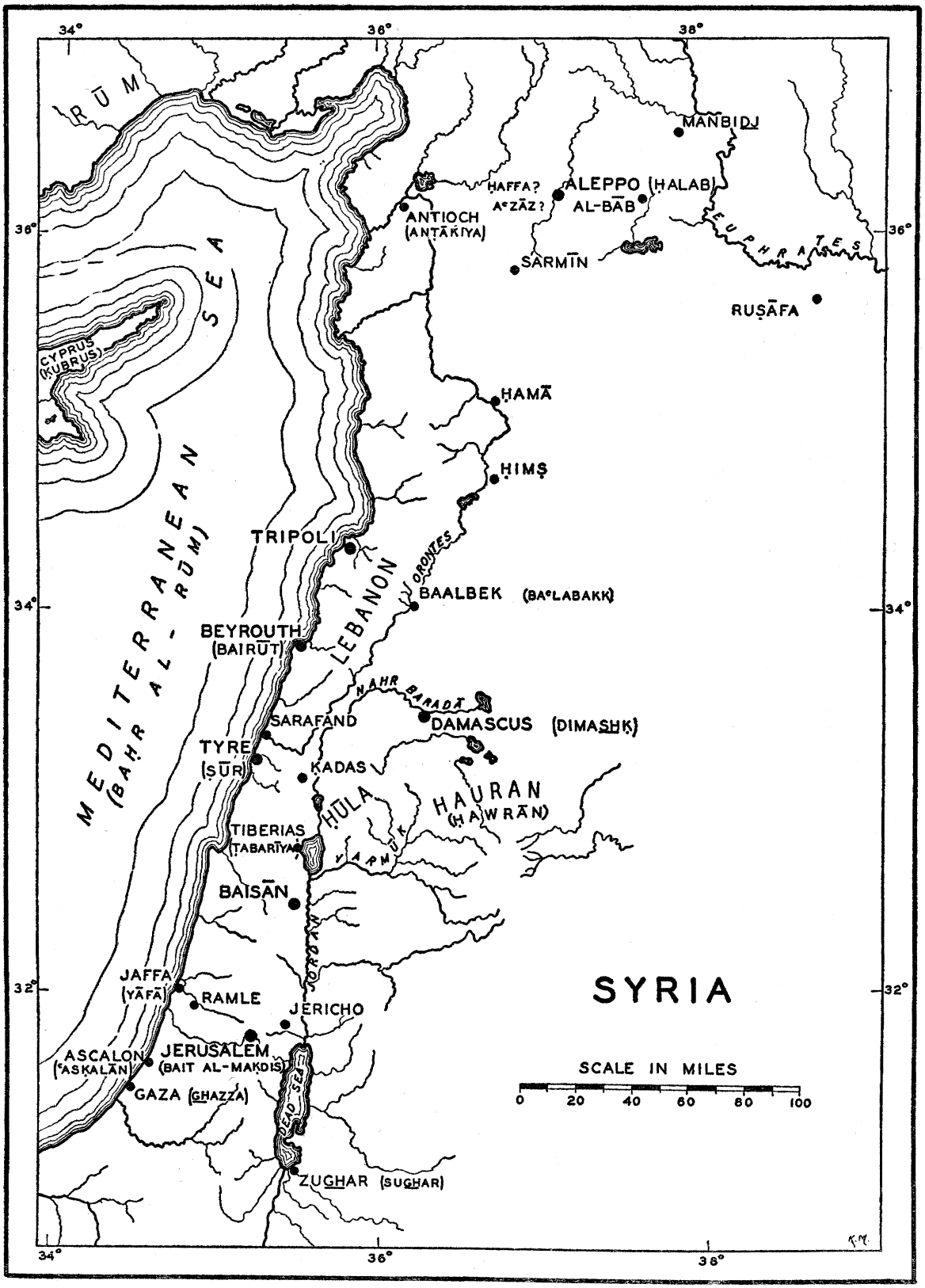

MAP 6—SYRIA

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but though he may have instituted some palace factories, there is no evidence of manufacture there before al-Aṣmā'ī, quoted by Yākūt: "They have skill in manufacturing robes (aksiya), and every man there, rich or poor, spins wool while their women weave it." [18] Ḳazwīnī [19] noted: "The craft of its inhabitants is the manufacture of robes (aksiya), sacks, and bags which are taken thence to all lands."

Sarmīn, according to Ibn Baṭūṭa,[20] made a beautiful cotton cloth named Sarmīnī after it. Baalbek (Ba'labakk) stuffs were very famous in later times, but I have not found any references to them before the Mameluke period. The *Thousand and One Nights* mentions them in several places, and Ibn Baṭūṭa [21] remarked that "there are made in Baalbek the garments named after it, consisting of iḥrāms (a cloth wrapper used in the pilgrimage), ..." Under the events of the year 922 H. (1516 A.D.) Ibn Iyās [22] recorded that the puppet caliph in Egypt wore the Baghdad turban which has two ends, and a Baalbek robe (ḳabā') with ṭirāz borders of black silk (ḥarīr). The sultan himself wore a white Baalbek robe (ḳabā') with gold ṭirāz borders on broad black silk. Again, white Baalbek banners with the inscription "God make the Sultan victorious" are mentioned. Thus, in the Mameluke period there was probably a ṭirāz factory there.

Damascus (Dimashḳ), too, is but poorly documented. Maḳdīsī enumerated among its special products "ma'ṣūr and ba'līsī cloth and brocade." [23] Idrīsī, however, had rather a surprising fund of information:

> The city of Damascus contains many excellent qualities and many types of manufactures and various kinds of garments of silk (ḥarīr) such as khazz silk, precious and costly brocade of wonderful manufacture, with no equal; this is taken thence to every country and province adjoining it, and to those at a distance from it. The factories (maṣāni'), for all of those are marvelous, and their brocade resembles the finest brocade of Rūm (Byzantium), approximating to the garments of Dastuwā [24] and vying with the manufactures of Isfahan, surpassing the manufactures of the ṭirāz factories of Nishapur consisting of silken garments of one color (thiyāb al-ḥarīr al-muṣmata) and the wonderful garments of Tinnīs. Its (Damascus) ṭirāz factories contain all kinds of manufactures of precious cloth.[25]

In Mameluke times, too, the city had a ṭirāz factory. Maḳrīzī [26] stated that in the days

[18] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 785.

[19] Ḳazwīnī, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), II, 133. Cf. Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *op. cit.*, I, i, 267.

[20] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah,* ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), I, 146.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

[22] W. H. Salmon, *An Account of the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt* (London, 1921), XXV, 14, 94, 101. This translation is unreliable. See the review in the *Bull. School of Oriental Studies* (London, 1921–23), p. 330. See Ibn Ayās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr, Die Chronik des Ibn Iyās,* ed. M. Sobernheim and P. Kahle, *Bibliotheca Islamica,* V (Istanbul-Leipzig, 1931), VI, 39.

[23] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 180. Perhaps for "Ba'līsī" one should read "Ba'labakkī." This is conjectural; neither of these cloths is mentioned elsewhere.

[24] For "Dastuwā," it might be better to read "Tustar." See R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927) under Dastuwā'ī.

[25] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, p. 14. This text requires several minor alterations.

[26] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* II, 227.

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of al-Nāṣir Muhammad ibn Ḳalāūn, one of the great emirs, was given a robe of honor (khil'a):

. . . . a kind called Ṭardwaḥsh,[27] made in the dār al-ṭirāz which was in Alexandria, Cairo (Miṣr), and Damascus. It was embroidered with bands (mudjawwakha djākhāt) which were inscribed with the titles of the sultan. It had bands djākhāt of Ṭardwaḥsh and bands of different colors intermingled with gold-spangled linen (ḳaṣab mudhahhab), these bands being separated by embroideries in color (nuḳūsh) and a ṭirāz border. This was made of ḳaṣab, but sometimes an important personage (among the officials) would have a ṭirāz border embroidered with gold (muzarkasha bi-dhahab) with squirrel (sindjāb) and beaver (ḳundus) fur upon it as mentioned above. Under the cloak (ḳabā') of Ṭardwaḥsh there was a cloak of muḳtariḥ[28] with hoods (ṭarḥa[29]) of Alexandrine stuff, and a headdress (kallawta) of gold embroidery (zarkash) with spurs, a turban (shāsh) as mentioned, and a waistbelt (ḥiyāṣa[30]) of gold, sometimes with plaques (baikārīya) and sometimes without them.

Ṭardwaḥsh seems to be a Persian compound name and is thought to be a cloth embroidered with animals or scenes from the chase, of which there are numerous examples extant today.

In the Hauran (Ḥawrān) district of Damascus lay A'nāk, and Yāḳūt[31] said: "Carpets (busuṭ) and fine robes (aksiya) are made in it which are named after it."

Maḳdisī[32] found that Ḥūla was a source of cotton, and "from Ḳadas come munaiyar (garments with a double warp."[33] Tiberias had, as specialties, "pieces of carpeting (shiḳaḳ al-maṭāriḥ), paper (kāghid), and cloth (bazz)."[34] According to Idrīsī: "In Tyre (Ṣūr) white garments of great beauty, of fine qualities and workmanship, expensive in price, are manufactured, and occasionally similar ones are manufactured in other parts of the surrounding country."[35]

Nāṣir-i-Khusraw[36] said that artisans were numerous in Jerusalem, each trade having a separate quarter, as at the present time. The Jewish travelers had also some matters of interest to relate: "He (Rabbi Petachia) went to Jerusalem. The only Jew there is Rabbi Abraham the dyer and he pays a heavy tax to the king to be permitted to remain."[37] Benjamin of Tudela[38] found that "it contains a dyehouse for which the Jews pay a small rent annually to the king (Baldwin III) on condition that, besides the Jews, no other dyers be allowed in Jerusalem."[39]

[27] Reading "Ṭardwaḥsh" for "Ṭrzwaḥsh."

[28] The sense of this word is unknown to me.

[29] Cf. R. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), where this passage is cited and this garment described.

[30] Cf. *Ibid.*

[31] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 316. The exact locality of A'nak is uncertain, so it could not be inserted in the map.

[32] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 180.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[36] Nāṣir-i-Khusrau, *Safar-nāma,* C. Schefer, *Relation du Voyage de Nassiri Khosrau,* Publications de l' école des langues orientales vivantes (Paris, 1881), II, I, trans. p. 67.

[37] *The Travels of Rabbi Petaḥyah,* ed. and trans. by A. Benisch, and W. F. Ainsworth (London, 1856), trans. p. 61.

[38] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* ed. and trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), p. 22.

[39] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, II, 187, mentions a fardjīya of green Ḳudsī at Maḳdashaw (Mogadischio in Italian Somaliland).

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The city of Ramle, later the Muslim capital of Palestine, was founded by the Umayyad Sulaimān: "The first place he built was his palace, and then the house known as Dār al-Ṣabbāghīn ('the house of the dyers') in which he placed a cistern." [40] This building later passed into the hands of the Abbasids. It seems to have been some kind of royal factory, and the word ṭirāz itself [41] could equally well apply to a dyehouse. No more information, however, is forthcoming about this curious site though it is frequently mentioned by the historians. Maḳdisī [42] reported that "Ramle is the storehouse (khizāna) of Miṣr, and the meeting place of the two seas." Its unequaled veils [43] are also mentioned. Isaac Chelo [44] who journeyed through Palestine in the year 1334 A.D. said that in Ramle they had cotton factories.

The same Jewish traveler also remarked: "There is only one Jew living in this city (Sarafand near Ramla); he is a dyer and has fine works." [45] In Jaffa [46] he noted cotton thread and dyed stuffs.

The ḳazz silk of Ascalon ('Asḳalān), according to Maḳdisī [47] was surpassingly good. The textiles of Gaza (Ghazza) will be described in the chapter on Egypt, but, according to M. Murray,[48] there was silk in this area from pre-Muslim times.

The Jewish dyers of Palestine have been noticed in several cities, and Palestine was famous for the growing of the indigo plant. Of the town of Zughar, Ibn Ḥawḳal [49] said: "There is some manufacture of indigo (nīl) there, and there are workers who do not fall short of those in Kabul, though the dye does not come up to the standard of Kabul." Maḳdisī [50] mentioned indigo as an export of Jericho, Baisān, and Zughar (Ṣughar). Idrīsī [51] said: "The principal crop of the Ghor (Ghawr [the Jordan valley]) is indigo," and he specially mentioned the indigo of Jericho.

CYPRUS (ḲUBRUS)

This island exported cloth to the Muslims, for Abu 'l-Ḳāsim [52] of Baghdad spoke of a square carpet to sit upon, from Cyprus (ṭarrāḥa Ḳubrusīya). Ibn Ḥawḳal [53] noted that there is abundant silk (ḥarīr) and linen (kattān) in Cyprus, while Maḳdisī [54] said that "the Muslims derive advantages and profit from the large amount of goods, cloth (thiyāb), and

[40] Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 143, trans., I, 220.

[41] Maḳḳarī, *Analectes sur l' histoire et la littérature des arabes en Espagne,* ed. R. Dozy and others (Leyden, 1855–61), I, 109.

[42] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[43] Maḳdisī, *Ahsanu-t-taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat-l-Aqālīm Known as al-Muqaddasi,* trans. by G. S. A. Ranking and R. F. Azoo (Calcutta, 1897–1910, incomplete). This does not exist in De Goeje's text.

[44] E. N. Adler, *Jewish Travellers* (London, 1930), p. 138.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[47] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[48] Personal information.

[49] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus Geographicum,* ed. J. H. Kramers (2d ed.; Leyden, 1938–39), p. 184.

[50] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[51] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 and 4.

[52] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim,* ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 35. See also the passage in *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susandschird* (Leipzig, 1881), by J. von Karabaček, pp. 71–73, quoting many European sources. For Ṭarrāḥa, see R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes.*

[53] Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. J. H. Kramers, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[54] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

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articles which are brought from it." Cyprus madder was used for dyeing reed mats about the end of the thirteenth century.[55] Pedro de Teixeira[56] mentioned various dye stuffs of earth which he saw there, but such brief notices as these cannot do justice to the immense importance of Cyprus in the commercial world of the Near East during the Muslim era.

(To be continued)

[55] Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba,* ed. R. Levy, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1938), n.s., XII, Nos. 284–5.

[56] *The Travels of P. Teixeira with His "Kings of Harmuz" and Extracts from His "Kings of Persia,"* trans. and annotated by W. F. Sinclair and D. Ferguson (London, 1902), p. 137. He also mentioned exports of cotton and silk (p. 134).

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

Of Tripoli anterior to the Mongol invasion, Burchard of Mount Sion (trans. by A. Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Soc. [London, 1897], XII, 16) said: "It is full of people, for therein dwell Greeks and Latins, Armenians, Maronites, Nestorians, and many others. Much work is done there in silk. I have heard for certain that therein there are weavers of silk and camlet and other like stuffs." Burchard went to the East in 1232 A.D., and his *Description of the Holy Land* is based on his experiences there.

M. Minovi has drawn my attention to an important article by D. N. Wilber and M. Minovi, "Notes on the Rab'-i Rashīdī," *Bull. Amer. Instit. Iranian Art and Archaeol.,* V (1938), III, especially pp. 249–52.

The authors of this article quote from the letters of Rashīd al-Dīn the famous vizier of Ghāzān Khan, a collection known as the *Mukātabāt-i-Rashīdī* in a manuscript which belonged to the late E. G. Browne and is now in the Cambridge University Library. Letter 51 refers to the Rashīdī foundation or estate in Tabriz and mentions that it included "factories for cloth-weaving and paper-making, a dye-house, a mint," which had been constructed at the orders of the vizier. People from every city and border have been removed to this quarter. The craftsmen and inhabitants transferred from other countries were established in separate streets. In this letter, which was written to his son the governor of the district of Ḳinnasrīn, the vizier said: "The object in writing this letter in short, is that you should send forth fifty camlet (ṣūf) weavers from Anṭākiya (Antioch) and Sūs and Tarsus, not by force and compulsion, but by kindness and persuasion so that they may come with carefree minds and voluntarily. Twenty more camlet weavers you must ask the King Theophilus, son of Michael from Ḳubrus (Cyprus) to send to Tabriz." The authors note that the kings of Cyprus at this time (before 718 H. [1318 A.D.]) were not Byzantines but the Lusignan dynasty, and Rashīd al-Dīn's information seems anachronistic referring to a much earlier period. The authors add that the wools (ṣūf) of Ḳubrus are mentioned in a book attributed to Niẓām al-Mulk known as *Kitāb-i-Waṣāyā* in which Niẓām al-Mulk related that Ḳubrus wool is sent to one of the Seljuk kings, his masters, among presents from Rūm (Byzantium).

M. Minovi has also given me a reference—al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb* facsimile ed., Intro. by D. S. Margoliouth, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1913), XX, 441: "Ḳubrusī, This is the adjective from Ḳubrus which is an island in the Mediterranean to which are attributed Ḳubrusī cloths (thiyāb) which are linen." (It is necessary to read kattān for k bān).

In the latter half of the fifteenth century, Maḥmūd Ḳārī of Yezd (*Dīwān-i-Albisa* [Constantinople, 1303 H.]) mentioned in several places Ḳubrusī wool (ṣūf), and once "Cyprus sixteen wool" (ṣūf-i-sittata 'asharī), the name presumably being derived from some technical process of manufacture, (pp. 61, 119, 15). A reference to "sypres for neckerchiefs," in Scotland in 1502 A.D. is to be found in J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland 1357–1509* (Edinburgh, 1888), IV, Addenda.

In *Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum, Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, 1264–1359* (Edinburgh, 1878), I, 380 under the "Accounts of the Clerk of the Kitchen & Clerks of the Wardrobe rendered at Scone 10th to 12th December 1331," is mention of the following items "una magna pecia panni cerici de Anteochia (Antioch) viij £. Et in nouem paruis peciis panni de Anteochia vt supra, xviij £ ij s . . . Et in nouemdecim peciis cindonis de Tripo (Tripoli) xij £ xiij s, iiij d." Cf. also p. 384 for a similar entry. In the same volume under the "Accounts of the Stewards of the House of the Earl of Carrick" for 1329 is the item: "Et per quandam peciam, panni de tarse (Tarsus) rubei coloris."

Another interesting source of information on the Syrian trade in textiles, also of the post-Abbasid period, is Ludolf von Suchem's *Description of the Holy Land,* Palestine Pilgrims' Text Soc. (London, 1895) written about 1350 A.D. Of Alexandretta and its district he said (p. 46): "Not far from Alexandria there is a village, all

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of whose inhabitants are Saracen work people, who weave mats wondrous well in divers fashions with most curious skill." Of Acre he said (pp. 60–61): "At this day about sixty Saracen mercenaries dwell in Acre as a garrison for the city and port and make a living out of silk and birds." Since the fall of Acre Christian women there dressed in black. Of Damascus he said (p. 129), that it is "rich in all manner of merchandise . . . abounding in foods, spices, precious stones, silk, pearls, cloth-of-gold, perfumes from India, Tartary, Egypt, Syria, and places our side of the Mediterranean . . . and is incredibly populous, being inhabited by divers trades of most cunning and noble workmen, mechanics and merchants . . . Each trade dwells by itself in a particular street, and each workman according to his craft and power, makes in front of his house a wondrous show of his work, as cunningly, nobly and peculiarly wrought as he can . . . But they sell everything very dear."

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